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POLAND

Thorough Destalinization, Party Ability To Change Viewed

26000416 Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish
No 2, Feb 89 pp 10-11

[Interview with Hieronim Kubiak, sociologist and professor at Jagiellonian University and member of PZPR Central Committee, by Anna Bilska and Stefan Marody; date and place not given]

[Text] [KONFRONTACJE] In your dramatic speech at the 10th Plenum you called for "extending the hand" to Solidarity. A similar expression was used by Lech Walesa when commenting on the plenum's results. Are these hands meeting?

[Kubiak] The gesture of the extended hand was not, contrary to appearances, conceived at the 10th Plenum. As a participant in these events let me recall that that hand had been extended to Solidarity for the first time during the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. I remember how, during discussion by the Program Commission of the Congress, it was declared that within the Polish constitutional order there is room for an independent trade union as well as for the formula of the social movement and political orientation bearing the name Solidarity, and not just owing to a logical necessity (among other things, owing to an elemental pressure). Even if it is desired to alter this order, certain rules of the game have to be accepted in order not to shake the foundations owing to a reforming zeal. Too many generations of Poles have paid the highest price for the right to their own statehood to let any one toy with the country's destiny.

The 10th Plenum, in extending the hand for an accord, did not forget the past. Besides, any such amnesia would be difficult to expect. The memory of the past is inscribed, and very dramatically at that, in the biographies of many individuals on both sides of the conventionally assumed barricade. The point is not to forget anything. The gesture of the extended hand on both sides must be accompanied nowadays by reflection about the reasons why the handshake between both sides is so difficult. Otherwise, we will be only left with slogans. As for slogans, we all are definitely fed up with them by now.

[KONFRONTACJE] Since these are to be no slogans or empty gestures, what should be the principles underlying the accord?

[Kubiak] The first condition is to preserve social peace. Peace, but not inertia! This means above all renouncing the street [demonstrations] as the site on which to assert one's rationale. No sensible institutional concepts can be constructed on the street. Of course, this condition binds both sides: the authorities must open channels for the

articulation of social unrest while the side expressing that unrest must explore formulas that are accommodated within the social order.

The second condition is presenting in the discussion rationales that can be socially verified, tested not only in the form of loud speeches but also in the form of peace in our family homes, so that they may be the property of not just the elites engaged in the discussion [at the roundtable] but also of a tremendous majority of the society.

That still is not all. The third condition is, I think, creating a construct which will unlock to the society genuine prospects for improvements in its condition. The situation of the fall of 1981—vacant store shelves, fear of the future—cannot repeat itself. I believe that this fear is still felt so strongly in many places that it causes defense responses against even the most reasonable thinking about reforms.

[KONFRONTACJE] Is not the difference in axiologies an obstacle to the striving toward an accord? Jacek Kuron in his interview granted to KONFRONTACJE appreciates the need to take the realities into account. He respects them, but this does not mean that he is renouncing his goal, namely, the "gradual transformation of the society into a democratic society."

[Kubiak] If the accord is to consist in that one of the sides is to fix the terms, this won't be any compromise but an outright "fiat." And as for fiats, we already have had enough of them. Let us consider these rationales from the vantage point of the various sides and integrate them into a single common national rationale. Let us listen to everyone, calmly and without prejudice. After all, the accord which we all need does not require acknowledging as supreme the rationale of any one side. We must learn how to live with differences in views. Some people view such a possibility as divine punishment. As I see it, this is not only a necessity but a chance. The coexistence of many rationales gives birth to the possibility of verifying them; let there remain, after a critical analysis, only whatever withstands the test of criticism. And that not because this is my rationale or the rationale of my ally, but because it is strong owing to its own inherent logic as the rationale of the majority.

The accord must also result in a design of Polish parliamentarianism such that the differences in rationales would manifest themselves primarily in the Sejm. Then the actual differences in social interests and the names of the bearers of these interests will be known. Let everyone speak in his own voice. It is the polyphony of different voices that results in a common rationale for us all. This will be a kind of a contesting concord, of unity through diversity. This is how mature societies, even those with sharp internal conflicts, resolve their dilemmas. And this does not mean relinquishing one's own values but the need to respect multicandidate elections and find a formula for them that would be accommodated within

the European political culture. It is necessary to distinguish between two planes: interpersonal contacts and the struggle of rationales. The adversary in the confrontation of partial rationales does not have to be immediately an absolute enemy. An enemy and an adversary are not the same thing. The alternative is, once again, the barricade, extreme polarization: either mine or no one's.

[KONFRONTACJE] But, irrespective of its declared intentions, is the party really ready for the changes? We have to be aware of its handicaps. Young people account for only about 2 percent of the party's membership, the average age of a party member is 46, and then also there are the longtime conservative habits of the party. Of the 1,200,000 executive and managerial positions in Poland 900,000 are held by party members. The party has experienced extremely acute political crises, each of which deprived it of people capable of interacting with the reforms. Besides, the party is to be a partner in the process of destalinization.

[Kubiak] Were the party living within a hermetically sealed circle, impervious to the stresses experienced by a majority of Poles, we could say that it is incapable of properly reacting to the challenge. But the party is not only an institution but also the people who, by making an authentic choice among values, became part of its structures. Each of these individuals takes part in the daily life of the society and is not living on some isolated island or in a party ghetto but is subject to the same pressures as other Poles. Perhaps even the pressures on him are greater when he feels some responsibility for the failures. Viewed from this standpoint, the stresses forcing the society as a whole to explore new solutions are also being experienced by the party. We too are present in these foci of anxiety, and these anxieties are ours, too, and that why the evolution within the party is inevitable—perhaps even in a more mature and rapid manner than within other segments of the society.

Experience need not be an obstacle; it teaches, too. It is being said that attempts were already made in the past. Indeed so! We know more or less the reasons for the failure in 1956 [Gomulka comes to power, disappoints expectations], 1970 [workers' massacre in Gdansk], or in 1980-81 [Solidarity formed, martial law imposed]; they have a kind of common denominator, namely, if the reform of socialism is to succeed, the process of destalinization must be completed and the party must abandon a mode of existence proper to the period of the revolutionary seizure of power; it must abandon the traditions of parties which had for long periods of their history been illegal—and I am also thinking of the PZPR's predecessor parties—and did not learn the art of parliamentary contestation. Such a situation led to various consequences: the party's leadership emerged in ways far from democratism; secretiveness about the party was the rule; discipline was more important than the rank-and-file cells; and loyalty meant more than actual authority within the community. This situation did not, of course, apply equally to all the leftist orientations. For

example, the PPS [Polish Socialist Party, had quite close contacts with the masses, yet that also is a forgotten part of the PZPR's tradition. Thus, we must revert to it.

[KONFRONTACJE] True. But to this day the PPS activists who had opposed to Stalinism the postulate of socialist humanism, the "revisionists" protesting against the abandonment of [hopes for] October [October 1956, when it seemed that Gomulka's coming to rule would mean greater freedom for Poland], or the KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers] which was after all leftist-oriented in protecting the workers of Radom and Ursus [factories] against repressions, still have not been rehabilitated.

[Kubiak] On this matter there is some politically motivated hesitation. To some people it seems that telling the entire truth, prompting investigations which would demonstrate that truth, would be, as it were, a continuation of self-accusations. There exist fears about providing the adversary—it does not matter whom we tag with this appellation—with additional ammunition against the Polish left. I understand this kind of thinking, although I do not share it. Truth is inescapable and, as experience demonstrates, not worth escaping. What is more, truth makes one stronger. After all, this concerns not just knowledge of historical events or rehabilitation of individuals (though that also is necessary) but also and above all understanding the circumstances which led to the crisis of socialism and overcoming them. There is a lot at stake, because the future cannot be created on the basis of an untrue image of the past.

What is most difficult is the elimination of all those consequences of the Stalinist past which are rooted in our mentation and reality, in the organizational structures, in ritual procedures, in the language we employ, in apprehensions of various kind.

The thus interpreted destalinization is a difficult process taking place within ourselves as contemporaries. It has to be undergone not only by those "in power" but also by their opponents. I believe that the brand of Stalinism is imprinted on not only those in power but also the opposition. After all, the same pressures were in operation. Of course, individuals submitted to them to a varying degree and resisted them more or less worthily, but the difficulty in reaching a [national] accord—and this applies to the 1980-81 period as well—consisted after all in the collision of two reflections of the same experience, both fundamentalist, both unwilling to perceive that the reality is also chiaroscuro and not just black and white.

That is why I claim that destalinization must be carried out to its end, and this cannot be accomplished with a single political act. This is a process needful to both sides and one that will also, I think and hope, occur at the roundtable, so long as the discussion at that "table" be not exclusively a dialogue of the elites. The dilemma of the elites consists not in that they exist but in the

question of whom they represent and how, what is their relationship to various social forces, and, lastly, how do those social forces see their interests expressed in the arguments presented by these elites.

[KONFRONTACJE] The discussion at the 10th Plenum revealed to us the strength of the resistance against an accord with Solidarity. But this concerns not only views and habits but also interests. If [the party] has the monopoly on power, it does not find it easy to make room for others.

[Kubiak] Do the interests of the "nomenklatura" [party members holding executive positions] lie in preserving the status quo? The answer to that would be yes only if the status quo were to provide a chance for surmounting social tensions and meeting needs ranging from the most elementary ones to the most refined intellectual, political, or cultural ones. Since that is not so, the nomenklatura is, even if out of elementary egoism, condemned to explore solutions shedding the light of reason on the system of society, on the economy.

Of course, not everyone understands this completely. Viewed from the standpoint of the nomenklatura, there arises another and psychologically difficult problem: will those who shall sit down at the "round table" try to understand the people from the nomenklatura? We should not assume that egoism is confined to one side and opposed by pure altruism on the other. It would be truer to say that both sides represent certain authentic interests, experiences, and abilities, which afford a chance for realistic solutions and reforms under the new rules of the social, political, and economic game.

[KONFRONTACJE] Is not it time for the people who advocated reforms at the Ninth Congress, the "men of August," to return to active political life. We mean, for example, you, Kania, Fiszbach, Klasa, Labedzki. In politics so far, once a politician departs he does not return....

[Kubiak] People should, of course, have a chance to do what they can and when. Everyone, too, should have the opportunity to correct his mistakes, because it is human to err. I personally do not believe prophets, because no one is the bearer of the entire truth once and for all. The fate of individuals should simply be considered objectively. I personally enjoy what I am doing now: I do not feel discriminated against, expelled, deprived of the possibility to exert influence, etc. It seems to me that returning to one's profession after one exercises an elected public office should be an element of modern political culture. Professional self-fulfillment, especially if one has not entered upon a profession fortuitously and if one is not a professional "failure," is not degrading.

At times I rejoice greatly that those who used to combat me now accept and implement my old ideas. But does this mean that I should exact acknowledgment and recognition? Besides, I am aware that many of these

ideas are—given the kind of experience concerned—the property of my entire generation. Most of the individuals who advanced to posts of national leadership during the period of social unrest, these being the persons you are asking about, did not enter politics out of careerist goals or personal ambition. We entered politics out of personal commitment, being aware that under certain circumstances one cannot abnegate oneself. No one should be deprived of the right to return [on the political scene] regardless of the period during which he may have been active in public life, though not on the basis of direct or indirect rehabilitation. After 10 years a great deal may change. What matters is not who one used to be but what he has to propose nowadays, and whether any of the major social forces trusts him.

Helsinki Committee Members on Human Rights Situation

26000406 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 12, 19 Mar 89 pp 6-7

[Interview with Marek A. Nowicki and Stefan Starczewski, members of the nonlegalized Helsinki Committee, by Jerzy Morawski: "How Much Law is Involved?"; date and place not given]

[Text] [PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] This is the first time that representatives of the Helsinki Committee in Poland are being interviewed in the official press.

[Starczewski] In giving this interview we do not intend to violate Article 2, Points 1 to 10, of the Press Censorship Decree. This does not mean, of course, that we agree with the provisions of that decree. But while we are adapting this interview to the requirements of that decree, we believe that intervention by a censor would mean violating our civil rights.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] I do not think that in this case such big guns should be rolled out. The process of reaching an agreement between two quarreling sides, the opposition and Solidarity and the authorities, is accelerating. The roundtable and its topics are certainly subjects of great interest to the Helsinki Committee. But specifically, what in your opinion is preventing the rights of man from ceasing to be a mere lofty slogan?

[Nowicki] We have long been advocating a change in the present position of the judiciary within the structure of the authorities as well as in ways of making judges independent of decisions taken outside the judiciary. For example, the freeing of courts from supervision by the Ministry of Justice, the establishment of a supreme council of justices, and changes in the status of the procuratures, i.e., in the subordination of the procuratures to the Ministry of Justice.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Are your recent assessments of the legal situation in this country so dramatic as to warrant a need for restructuring "from the ground up"?

[Starczewski] Last fall there were many alarming signals, surprising for a period of political opening. This concerns brutal actions by the law-and-order forces against participants in various peaceful demonstrations. One drastic example was the reaction of militiamen to the demonstration termed "The Great Grubfest," when school youth ate salted pretzel sticks in front of Centrum department stores in Warsaw. We also recorded instances of beatings of the detainees.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] As persons who have for years been keeping track of the machinery of rule of law, you certainly attempted to account for these happenings, have not you?

[Starczewski] We adopted a very cautious hypothesis. We believe that these incidents were not ordered from the top. We assume that they were a consequence of the longtime traditional anarchy within the entire machinery of power which could not adapt itself automatically, as it were, to the new political situation. Besides, sufficiently rigorous monitoring mechanisms are absent in that machinery. A feeling of a certain impunity has arisen within it. In the event of demonstrations, even peaceful ones, that machinery did look up to see what the "top" was doing and instead it repeated the routines in which it had been trained.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Let us return to assessing the present situation. In what ways has it improved markedly?

[Starczewski] What is fascinating, and not only to us, is a certain liberalization of the freedom of speech, which in human rights pacts is defined as freedom to express opinions, freedom of expression. Also striking is the current presence of diverse ways of thinking and opinions.

[Nowicki] Fundamental changes have taken place, but there are hardly any changes in the system of legal safeguards. What we nowadays view as considerable progress may at any moment revert to the old rut or get even worse. In practice, everything depends on the will of the political leadership, on the course of the round-table, on what is happening at plants and factories. Broadening the boundaries of freedom of speech is not only and exclusively a question of a political directive, because this should be so from the standpoint of the interests of those who decide on this game.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] But in the late 1940's and early 1950's when specific laws had existed the rule of law was widely flouted [by Stalinists]. There was no political will to abide by law. The political opening that is taking place at present, should hardly be appraised in the way you do, gentlemen, because this is, and our history says so, a causative force for changes to the better. This is the beginning.

[Nowicki] But how did it end?

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Worse, but not as badly as previously. All in all, the pluses outweigh the minuses.

[Nowicki] Only in some ways. We advocate the introduction of new [legal] safeguards. Because, after all, no revisions have been introduced in the censorship decree, in the decree on penal proceedings, and in the decree on the minister of internal affairs.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] But the roundtable is meeting also with the object of promoting law revisions.

[Nowicki] For the time being the situation is absurd. Zbigniew Bujak [Solidarity leader] was sitting in the palace of the Council of Ministers, under the chandeliers, on a day on which he had been invited to deliver an address at a ceremony commemorating the deaths of miners at the Wujek Mine. He did not attend that commemoration. This is a paradox of our times. The people sitting down at the roundtable include some who had been serving long sentences during the martial law era and subsequently. Formally they bear the odium of being political criminals. Yet many of them are now discussing rule of law with the people who had not long ago condemned them to incarceration. What is more, publicly and on television they sometimes speak in sharper language than the one they had been using when sentenced years ago.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Such complexities are part of our contemporary history. The roundtable participants are not only men of marble and iron [an allusion to Wajda's films] or wardens and their former prisoners. They are nowadays men of compromise crowded into a single cell in which, relatively speaking, the situation has placed them.

[Nowicki] Yes, except that one of the two sides was accused, condemned, and imprisoned. No one has thought of perhaps admitting the mistake and trying to rehabilitate these people, yet this is demanded by respect for a partner.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] I don't want to be misunderstood but this is a Polish destiny. Yesterday these people were illegal and persecuted but perhaps tomorrow they will become legal. This is nothing to be proud of, but such a thorny path to official recognition is better than that eternal toil of conspirators which so characterizes Polish history. The Helsinki Committee in Poland which you, gentlemen, represent, formally also does not exist, but it is here and it is active. Nowadays this ambiguous situation may soon no longer be ambiguous.

[Starczewski] The Helsinki Committee in Poland was established during the martial law era. That was a decision by several persons. At the time we had proof of mass violations of civil rights in various ways. We decided to present an assessment of the situation at the conference then taking place in Madrid. That conference was even cut short by representatives of the Western

countries because martial law had been imposed in Poland. A group of people prepared the first Madrid report, which was translated into English and French, and the participants in the conference familiarized themselves with it.

Following the abolition of martial law we prepared successive reports and tried to make them available to public opinion here and abroad. On occasion we evaluated the changes taking place, because the drama of the situation following the abolition of martial law acquired a different nature. Currently we completed work on the 11th report, concerning the year 1988.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Until July 1988 you did not reveal your names. Later they became known. Who are the members of the Helsinki Committee in Poland?

[Nowicki] It so happens that nine of 12 members are lawyers: Piotr L. J. Andrzejewski, a well-known counsel for the defense in political trials; Jerzy Ciemniewski, a constitutional law expert and roundtable negotiator; Professor Jan Rosner, who for a time had been Poland's representative at the International Labor Organization; Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, the eminent expert on civil and agricultural law; Zofia Wasilkowska, the former minister of justice in October [1956, workers' bread riots in Poznan, accession of national communist Gomulka to rule]; Professor Janina Zakrzewska, a constitutional law expert; Professor Tadeusz Zielinski, a well-known figure in the world of international jurisprudence and an expert on labor laws; Janusz Grzelak, a social psychologist, an associate of the University of Warsaw; Halina Bortnowska, a philosopher and cofounder of "Znak" [Catholic association], and we both. Eight of these members also are members of the Citizens' Committee under Lech Walesa.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] After you began overt activity have you or any other members or associates of the Helsinki Committee encountered any trouble? What is the position taken at present by the institution you represent?

[Starczewski] We work to promote normal and healthy relations in the domain of law and legality. We believe that this warrants our existence and that the way we operate will be recognized as normal. Representatives of the Polish government took part in the post-Helsinki conference in Vienna that lasted more than 2 years. Among other things, an agreement was reached on specific ways of monitoring the implementation of the adopted agreements and allowance in this system of monitoring was made for the role and importance of nongovernmental individuals, groups, and initiatives. We now want to implement more boldly these decisions. The Helsinki Committee in Poland has since last December been member of the International Helsinki Federation for the Rights of Man, whose seat is in

Vienna. As a civic initiative, we also intend to promote improvements in observance of civil rights in other countries regardless of their systems of society.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Has our government, by signing the Vienna document, obligated itself, as it were, to provide conditions making possible, among other things, such a broad range of activities of the Committee?

[Starczewski] We believe so. In his concluding address Minister Tadeusz Olechowski explicitly declared that the government of the Polish People's Republic pledges itself to adhere to all decisions of the Vienna conference also in practice. By contrast, a different position on the matter was expressed by, for example, the representative of Romania. To us this event and the roundtable offer hope that the rights of man will improve markedly.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Several different institutions are taking part in this "competition." I am afraid that "when there are many cooks....."

[Nowicki] The Commission for Intervention and Rule of Law is on the agenda of Solidarity. The existence of the institution of the Citizens' Rights Spokesman offers some chance for improvements in observance of the rights of man in Poland. After all, the 50,000 complaints which that Spokesman has already received demonstrate the great need for concern for legality. It seems to me that the more people are thus concerned the better. We try to inform the Citizens' Rights Spokesman about our actions and projects. Last January Ms Professor Ewa Letowska [the Spokesman or rather Spokesperson] received Gerald Nagler, secretary general of the International Helsinki Federation for the Rights of Man, whom I accompanied as a representative of the Helsinki Committee in Poland.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Gentlemen, it seems to me that you are, by and large, concerned in depth about the legal system. Yet things worth considering are happening on the surface too. I am thinking, for example, of the institution of the collegiums [community courts], which to many citizens are the sole and dubious way of gaining knowledge of law. This is a subject that has more than once been considered in PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY.

[Nowicki] The community courts imperil the citizen's feeling of personal security, as do besides many provisions of various law codes. The community courts for transgressions could be abolished immediately, or at least certain of their rulings could be amended. Consider for example the case of Kolankiewicz of Goldapia who attended a mass in the Zoliborz Borough of Warsaw on the anniversary of the death of the Reverend Popieluszko. He and his wife were detained at a bus stop and beaten by the ZOMO [Motorized Detachments of the Citizens' Militia]. Then he was accused by a community court of having thrown stones and bottles and insulted

militiamen. The prosecutor demanded a fine, and the community court sentenced Kolankiewicz to imprisonment for 1 month. Kolankiewicz appealed to a regular court, which acquitted him owing to lack of evidence. But he did serve his sentence, because the regular court considered his case only afterward.

[PRZEGŁAD TYGODNIOWY] Bringing order into our laws governing the protection of citizens is, it seems to me, something that would take years. There exist so many dubious regulations and possibilities of institutional abuse. What, in your opinion, should be the underlying principle safeguarding the feeling of personal security among the people?

[Starczewski] The principles contained in the Final Act of Helsinki are derived from traditions of the European civilization, from values which make Europe culturally integral in a way. These principles are: rule of law, mutual moral obligations of people who live in Europe, where such values as human dignity and freedom exist. But these values cannot be safeguarded by the governments alone, because those pursue particular policies which may be different. There must exist social forces standing watch over these fundamental values, reminding the state of the obligation to respect them, and perturbing the complacency of the officialdom. We as the Helsinki Committee desire to exert influence so that politicians, government representatives, respect the obligations they pledged themselves to accept. We intend, so to speak, to introduce the human rights factor in the political game.

[PRZEGŁAD TYGODNIOWY] It ensues from this that the Helsinki Committee, along with other organizations working to promote the rights of man, desires to be something normal if not natural in a democratically functioning society.

[Starczewski] If this last happens then our objective will be to disband ourselves as the Helsinki Committee monitoring affairs in this country. But the road to this is distant. At present we are living at an unusual moment in history when ways out in the direction of democracy are being explored for a country that after all has for years been totalitarian.

[PRZEGŁAD TYGODNIOWY] Thank you for the interview.

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26000402 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 11, 18 Mar 89 p 2

[Excerpts]

National News

[Passage omitted] The assignments of functions in the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee was discussed in *TRYBUNA LUDU* for 7 March 1989. The

first secretary directs the work of the Central Committee, its Politburo and the Secretariat; the cooperation of the party with government and with the allied parties are also part of his responsibilities; he also deals with the party and political activities in the armed forces and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and with the overall personnel policy of the party. Jozef Czyrek assists the first secretary; he also directs the Secretariat of the Commission for PZPR, ZSL, and SD Cooperation, and is responsible for cooperation with the PZPR Deputies' Club in the Sejm and with PRON. The international activities of the party are also under him. Wladyslaw Baka is responsible for the operations of the party in the socioeconomic and social area. Stanislaw Ciosek works in three fields—informatics, religion, and law. He controls the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House. Marian Orzechowski deal with the ideological activities of the party and party work in science and education; the Academy of Social Sciences and the Central Committee Central Archive are under him. Zbigniew Michalek deals with agriculture, the food industry, and forestry. He is responsible for party cooperation with the ZSL. Zygmunt Czarzasty deals with the internal operations of the party (internal information, finance), with cooperation with the trade unions, problems of work in the representative bodies, and oversees the model changes in the party. Leszek Miller deals with party activities in the youth unions, physical culture, sport, tourism, and cooperation with the women's movement. Marian Stepien is responsible for the cultural policy of the party, work in the cultural community, and foreign cultural cooperation. He organizes cooperation with the creative associations and with the sociocultural journals. Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, member of the secretariat and head of the Chancellery of the Secretariat organizes the work of the central party authorities and supervises the implementation of tasks in the personnel area. He oversees the letters sent to the party leadership. Particular secretaries are responsible for particular journals of the party press: S. Ciosek, *TRYBUNA LUDU*; Z. Czarzasty, *ZYCIE PARTII*; Z. Michalek, *CHLOPSKA DROGA*; M. Orzechowski, *NOWE DROGI*. [passage omitted]

The Polish Episcopate held its 233rd plenary conference. In association with the end of the term in office, the bishops elected authorities and the membership of the commission of the Episcopate for the next five years by secret ballot. The Chairman of the Conference of the Episcopate is Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland; the deputy chairman is Cardinal Franciszek Macharski; the secretary general is Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski.

The association of editors of the Catholic press, in view of the assignment of additional amounts of paper for the needs of Catholic publications and press, which was the condition for participation by representatives of the association in the Press Council of the premier of the People's Republic of Poland, has elected a 6-person representation which is to become part of the Council:

Tadeusz Krolak (PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI), Father Jan Krucina (Archidiecezjalne Wydawnictwo Wroclawskie), Father Antoni Poninski (LAD BOZY), Father Ireneusz Skubis (NIEDZIELA), Father Stanislaw Tkocz (GOSC NIEDZIELNY), Jerzy Turowicz (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY).

Four hundred scouting activists have sent an open letter to the scouting instructors and delegates to the upcoming 9th Congress of the Polish Scout Union. The letter calls for unity in the scouting movement and proposes adopting the version of the Scout oath, formulated by the founder of Polish Scouting, Andrzej Malkowski: "I promise: 1. Faithfulness to the Fatherland. 2. Readiness to help others at all times. 3. To obey the Scout Law.

"Bitter Moment" is the title of an open letter which two Soviet intellectuals, Dimitr Likhachov, chairman of the Soviet Culture Fund, and Nikolay Samvelyan, writer and president of the World of Culture Club of Creative Intellectuals, sent to Polish culture activists. They write: "What happened in Krakow, the desecration of the monument to our compatriots who died in the fight with fascism, cannot be comprehended or explained, or fully understood." "The sleep of the dead is holy; it is not to be disturbed."

Lukasz Balcer, the minister of justice, has applied for an extraordinary revision of the sentence of 1948 sentencing six leading socialist activists to long prison sentences: Kazimierz Puzak, Tadeusz Jan Szturm de Sztram, Jozef Dziegielewski, Feliks Bronislaw Misiorowski, Ludwik Cohn, and Wiktor Krawczyk. The minister asked for a change of the decision and acquittal of the accused. [passage omitted]

Jozef Kowalczyk, the head of the press office of the ZSL: "We have different views on the issue of access to radio and television, the division and distribution of newsprint from the rest of the coalition." "We do not want government television but state television, created with the participation of the ZSL. Today a ZSL party card is an obstacle to work in television." "The ZSL demands that in employment in television a distribution (such a percentage ZSL and such a percentage other organizations) be used."

The financial situation in the view of the deputies. One of them described it as an "emergency in the system." He anticipates that in the first quarter of 1989 in relation to the same period in 1988, the income of the people will increase 110 percent, and wages for work will increase by 121 percent; the incomes of the agricultural population by about 70 percent; the nonfarm, nonsocialized sector, by 164 percent (this is primarily the result of the expansion of the range of activities). The planned increase in the prices of goods during this period is about 78 percent. The average wage in the five basic sectors of the economy (the material sphere) was 67,000 zloty in January, 83,000 zloty in February. [passage omitted]

The rector of the Jagiellonian University recommended initiating disciplinary proceedings against four students, participants in the demonstration in Krakow. Disciplinary proceedings have been initiated against two students (at the Medical Academy and the Institute for the Study of Religion of the Jagiellonian University), who threw stones near the Carmelite Church "On the Sands."

Every month we will be informed of the radiological situation in Poland. The first communique will be published in the daily press for 11-12 March.

The ZDANIE Club in Bystrzyca Kłodzka has been registered in Walbrzych. Its members are leftists in the region; it relates to the ZDANIE group of Krakow. Krzysztof Komornicki, a farmer, is the president. [passage omitted]

On the Left

The USSR has begun to sign agreements with the governments of Western countries guaranteeing the safety of foreign investments on the territory of the USSR. This is, the press agencies emphasize, an encouragement to form joint ventures in industry. The agreements are to guarantee the free export of capital and the resolution of disputed questions between the investors and the state.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR in an interview with a PAP correspondent: "To be sure, our republic is not sovereign. What kind of a sovereignty is it if the union ministries can do whatever they please in the republic. . . . But we should not approach these problems in a simplistic way. We do not want to reduce our connections with the Union. We are for expanding them, but according to rational principles. We are very interested in a strong center. Not in bureaucratic ministries, but in a strong center that will support our initiatives, help in implementing our conceptions, in our interest and in everyone's interest. . . . I believe our most important achievement is the fact that the Supreme Soviet of the republic now has the right to present its position on any decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, even on sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In principle, it reduces to protesting decisions and directing the matter to the committee supervising the constitution." [passage omitted]

"Openness is the background for journalism. Wherever journalism is blindly subservient, there simply is no journalism. There is also no normal social life." V. Josifov, the former chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists told the weekly POGED.

The official Hungarian press agency MTI reported that on Voroesmarta in Budapest, there was a demonstration organized by an independent group to demand the release of Vaclav Havel and the other individuals sentenced with him. MTI described Havel as "one of the leaders of the Czechoslovakian movement for human rights, Charter'77."

The Latvian Council of Ministers adopted a resolution of the rights of citizens to redress, whose exile, by administrative decision, beyond the boundaries of the republic has been found unlawful. This involves material recompensation, the right to return to Latvia, the restoration of the apartment (if possible) or priority to receive a cooperative apartment.

A new law in the GDR has awarded an active and passive election right to vote for municipal authorities to foreigners residing in the GDR for at least six months. This applies to 167,000 foreigners from 129 countries.

The production of passenger cars in Romania is 110,000 annually. In 1989, the line has been enlarged by a new Dacia 1320 and a small-engine Dacia 500, called a Lastun.

There are 31,000 small service outlets in CSR; and 10,000 in SSR. In Prague, 2,700 individuals have permits for private activity.

The GDR now has 16.6 million inhabitants officially. In the second half of the 1990's, this number will decline; zero population growth requires that each 1,000 women produce 2,100 children, and the current figure is only 1,700. [passage omitted]

Opinions

Prof Dr Hieronim Kubiak, sociologist:

(Interviewed by Leslaw Peters, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA 18-19 January 1989)

[Kubiak] My participant in social causes, however, has one regularity that surprises me. I have been needed mainly when the normal mechanisms of social life have proven ineffective. On the other hand, whenever it looked as if the proverbial bull had been grasped by the horns, whenever a period of relative stability began, then I lost out. It turned out then that what I proposed is too unsettling. I always quickly fell into conflict with the stabilizing apparatuses. I think that this is a fragment of a broader problem: to what degree in normal conditions is there a need for people who in moments when everything appears to be in order formulate warnings and raise the need for further changes?

Prof Dr Ryszard Bender of the Catholic University of Lublin, deputy chairman of the Christian-Democratic Club for Political Thought, Sejm deputy:

(Interviewed by Father Henryk Szareyko, NOWE ZYCIE 29 January-11 February 1989)

[Bender] Catholic social teaching constitutes for Christian Democrats in every country, but especially in Poland due to the confrontation with marxism, the foundation of public action. Christian Democrats attempt to apply the principles in the teaching in social

and political life. For example, consider the principle of solidarity, the common good, altruism.... The Christian social movement is obligated to remind not only Marxists, the current rulers in Poland, of the principles of Catholic social teaching, but also those of other political directions, who, let us hope, soon will appear in the arena of political life in Poland, especially the social democratic and liberal groups. Obviously, Christian Democrats, a reactivated Labor Party, if it were formed, would be a clear sign of the shift to political pluralism, which is lacking in Poland.

Marian Arendt, an engineer at Merinotex in Torun:

(Interviewed by Bogumil Drogosz, KUJAWY 15-21 February 1989)

[KUJAWY] When at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, you were elected a member of the Central Committee, the party members in favor of the horizontal structures considered you their man in the Central Committee.

[Arendt] Initially, I was unaware of this mission; it came out later....

[KUJAWY] But that body did not accept you. After a few months you were thrown out of the Central Committee, to be quite honest about it.

[Arendt] Unfortunately, it sticks in me like a splinter, and since I have an opportunity, I must say something about it now. I learned about this from the press, from the radio; I was removed during my absence. Shortly, I asked the Secretariat of the Central Committee to present the accusations, the justification, to hold a discussion with me. Eight years have passed, and to this day, I have received no reply, no letter. No one has ever asked me to return my Central Committee member's card. I have it as a memento with the signature of Kania. I was taught that being active does not pay. If you want to be active, do so only in the middle of the current. If you are in the middle, you will get ahead, the extreme positions will be knocked off.

Eugeniusz Jablonski, editor in chief of ZIELONY SZTANDAR:

(ZIELONY SZTANDAR 26 February 1989)

"Today no farmer serves as chairman of a ZSL voivodship committee. But before the war and just after the war, things were different. Only the trend to full-time positions moved them to deputy chairmen (with the exception of the gmina level). And they have remained there until today. In a farmers' party!

One of the very wise activists told me bitterly that if Wincenty Witos were active today, he would have little chance to become who he became. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk and the few other farmer-populist leaders would

have the same problems. But there is no shortage of modern Witoses in the party. It is only necessary to allow them to speak. Decorations are good in the theater, but not in real polities. Farmers, as Czeslaw Derdul of Piaski Wielkie (Kielce Voivodship) has said, have been disappointed by the authorities many times, and so they must reach for power themselves."

Stanislaw Ciosek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and member of the Politburo:

(A comment from a discussion with the editors of ITD 5 March 1989)

[ITD] What do you think of the possibility that an emergency will be declared?

[Ciosek] Obviously, it is formally possible in the case of an approaching disaster, as current law requires. I think, however, that such a solution will get us nowhere. It will not solve Poland's problems. The opposition will become more of an opposition; the government more of a government. We would retreat into a peculiar middle age; thus, it is not a way out of a difficult situation. I share the frequently stated view that we are condemned to reconciliation. As yet I have seen no signs in the heavens or on the earth that it might be otherwise.

ROMANIA

Need To Enhance Leading Role of Party

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[Articles by Univ Prof Dr Olivia Clatici, Dr Aristide Cioba, Viorel I. Cornescu, Univ Reader Dr Nicolae Dinut, Pamfil Nichitelea, Univ Reader Dr Constantin Voineag and Iulian Popescu published under the title "The Increased Role of the Party Leader—A Prerequisite for Building Socialism and Communism"; first four paragraphs are ERA SOCIALISTA introduction]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "in the new stage of socialist construction and thereafter the party's political leadership in all socioeconomic activities will be even further enhanced."

Among all the policies and conclusions Nicolae Ceausescu formulated in his speech at the Joint Session of the Plenum of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee, the Democratic Bodies and the Mass and Public Organizations of 28-30 November 1988, the principle of increasingly intensive growth of party leadership in all activities is of vital theoretical and practical importance. In analyzing in depth the questions of the party's role and functions in building the new order, our party and state leadership scientifically substantiated the view that the RCP's leadership is a general necessity and an objective law of socialist and communist construction, while enriching that view with new theoretical contributions.

One of the main conclusions drawn from past experience in socialist construction and emphatically reaffirmed in the speech on 28 November 1988 is that in exercising its leadership in all activities the party must take direct responsibility for implementing the plans and programs for socioeconomic development and play an active part in carrying out the party's decisions and the laws of the land, thus guaranteeing the success of its revolutionary mission.

On the basis of these principles and policies of particular theoretical and practical importance, in this issue ERA SOCIALISTA is publishing a discussion in the form of a series of articles examining some major aspects of the problems of growing party leadership in all areas of socialist construction.

'The Vital Center of the Entire Nation' by Univ Prof Dr Olivia Clatici

The necessity of developing party leadership in all activities and promoting it more and more intensively as a true vital center of the whole social system is one of the main conclusions, with profound theoretical and practical implications, drawn from the progress of socialist construction and from the dialectical interaction of the social laws of the new order. In that capacity, the party is bringing about the general political orientation and the political-organizational conditions and means to carry it out in practice and to improve the performance of every social activity as well as that of socialist society as a whole. As Nicolae Ceausescu judged in his speech on 28 November 1988, "We can maintain with justified pride that the RCP has proved by its whole activity that it is the vital center radiating the life-giving light and heat and the most advanced awareness of our people."

In setting the strategy for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism, the RCP has specially emphasized determination of its place and role in the system of social organization and management. Accordingly the principle of the party's role as the organizing and mobilizing political force of all socioeconomic activity was developed in conformity with the objective laws of the new order. In performing this historic mission, the party acts as a body sensitive to social changes and constantly enhancing its political-organizational capacity under the impetus of the new energies it combines and uses in mobilizing the entire nation to carry out its program.

Legitimately established through the party's long and heroic revolutionary activity for more than 65 years, the party's role as the political leader of socialist society, the role entrusted it and acknowledged by our entire people, is one of the sociopolitical realities characteristic of socialist Romania today. The party's strengthened political, organizational and ideological capacities and the performance of its role as the leading political force on an ever higher qualitative level are accordingly the results of an objective historical process as well as

reflections of the constant improvement of the ways and means whereby the party organizes and manages the revolutionary process, and of its constant adjustment to the continually changing requirements and the distinctive features of each stage of socialist society's development.

The view of the role of the party as the vital center of the nation that was determined by Nicolae Ceausescu in the years since the Ninth Party Congress of course has strong roots and determinations in history, reflecting the complete integration of the party's revolutionary struggle in the history and development of Romanian society and of the Romanian people. This view also defines the central position that the party has had and has among all the people's most progressive forces in their antifascist and anti-imperialist struggle for social and national liberation and later on in building the new order on Romanian soil, promoting Romania's vital interests, expressing its national will, and fulfilling the workers' ideal of building a society free of exploitation and oppression and worthy of a free, independent and sovereign people.

The principle of the party's place and role as the vital center of society, as a theoretical generalization of an entire social practice established in the course of creative application of the general objective laws of socialist construction to Romania's specific historical conditions, defines in a new way the content and methods of implementing the party's political leadership in all activities. Accordingly, as the vital center of the nation the party is performing a multilateral activity, showing more receptiveness to the needs of harmonious development of society as a whole and of each particular area within it, constantly studying the internal and international situations, determining the developmental trends of the processes and phenomena, organizing and improving the structures of socioeconomic management and mass participation in management of society and the state, and resolving the contradictions that arise in any given stage by providing the right conditions to meet the entire people's needs and aspirations.

In this view, the part is exercising its leadership primarily through scientific determination of the general political policy and the courses of national development. The party policy covers and guides all social activities by determining the operational structures of all social institutions and organizations and of the whole economic and sociopolitical system and by uniting their efforts in the same priority direction of accomplishing the major aims of construction of the fully developed socialist society. The party exercises its political leadership in all activities and in all units and workers collectives, from material production, organization and improvement of the workers-revolutionary democratic system, and improvement of social and production relations to cultural, ideological and educational activities and scientific work, while continually improving its ways of performing its political functions.

From the standpoint of generalizing acquired experience, the RCP realizes that exercise of its leadership cannot be confined to any one aspect of political leadership of society but must closely combine them as a vital requirement for uniting revolutionary theory and practice and increasing the effectiveness of the management elements in the overall strategy of socialist and communist construction. Essentially it is a matter of the fundamental inseparable unity among development of the general political policy, the political-organizational effort necessary to apply it, regular placement of personnel and party members in the midst of the actual political, economic, social, cultural and other events and processes, an extensive theoretical-ideological and political-educational effort to form the new man and to promote the revolutionary spirit intensively in work and life, and assumption of the supreme responsibility for the organization and operation of all social mechanisms and all sociopolitical institutions of our society.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the great democratic forum in November 1988, "We proceeded from the fact that party leadership cannot and must not be exercised from outside but by the direct involvement of party members, beginning with basic party personnel in the task of national development." Accordingly the RCP does not share the idea that the party should not be directly responsible for implementing the developmental plans and programs but should let the various sectors solve their problems themselves, considering it not only wrong, since it illegitimately restricts the scope of the revolutionary political element, but also harmful because it can lead to demobilization and ultimately to elimination of the party, causing haphazard and contradictory social and political activity and jeopardizing the very task of socialist and communist construction. Hence also the logical conclusions that as the vital center of all socialist society the party must act as the organizer and mobilizer of activity in all fields, it must engage directly and with all forces in implementing its program, and it must not become a club for general discussions.

The experience acquired in the years following the Ninth Party Congress proves that the party's efforts can succeed only if its organs, organizations and party activists directly participate in making and implementing party policy an work in close contact with the masses of workers and the entire people. The party's constant activity within the social organizations and workers collectives, in other words its complete integration in social existence and activity, is the main way of exercising its leadership in carrying out the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society. That calls for the party's direct, regular and effective involvement in the efficient performance of all activities. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Performance of the role of leading political force requires the active and highly responsible involvement of every organization, the party organs, and every party member in implementing party policy and in the best performance of all activities." By working in the spirit of this essential requirement the

party can also consolidate its ties with the masses and thereby make better use of this primary way of exercising its political leadership. That is why the party secretary general specially emphasizes the need of constant consolidation of the ties of the party and its personnel with the worker and the people as an objective necessity indispensable to the growth of the party's leadership and its adequate exercise in terms of the present stage and the continuity of the revolutionary process.

To this end the party must function as a strong and united body, it must improve and diversify the ways and means of its activity, its approach and its working methods, and it must keep raising the political and ideological levels of its members and those of all workers so that they can understand the vast changes taking place in all fields and work knowledgeably in the revolutionary spirit for the development and prosperity of our socialist nation.

'Creator of General Strategy for Building the New Order' by Dr Aristide Cioaba

Creating the general strategy for socialist and communist construction is the first requirement for promoting and developing the party's role as the leading political force, and the party is organizing and applying the people's material and manpower resources in that light and in order to accomplish its major aims.

Moreover, setting some goals that will reflect and guide the will of the masses and will suit and serve society's general interests has been and is one of the main reasons for the theoretical and practical efforts of the revolutionary political forces. Clarification of the basic aims of a class or of society as a whole is vital in consolidating their solidarity and enhancing their capacity for purposeful action in order to attain those aims. And accordingly it should be noted that efficient scientific management based on determination of a suitable strategy on relation of the long-term objectives with the immediate and intermediate ones, and on determination of the ways and means that enable society to accomplish those objectives is just as important and no less necessary.

The past experience of the sociopolitical movements and forces and that in building the new order proves beyond any doubt that adopting a political view or the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism and professing dedication to it are necessary but certainly not also sufficient for effective guidance and purposeful direction of social practice to make the objectively necessary changes. It is also more than evident that without regular study of reality, without adequate understanding of the objective trends that determine its progress, and without correlating them with people's possibilities and potentials for action, with their material and cultural needs, and with the specific historical and national characteristics of each individual society, it is unlikely that construction of the new order can succeed or coordinate the attributes of scientific organization and management.

For a revolutionary political force, knowledge and interpretation of the dialectics of society are not ends in themselves but are directly subordinated to the tasks of socialist construction and to the effort to accomplish its historical mission of leading the masses in the struggle and work required to fulfill their vital aspirations.

Devising the strategy for building the new order in keeping with each country's different specific historical conditions is proving to be one of the critical points and also one of the controlling factors in the exercise of party leadership. Without exhausting the whole list of activities associated with the content of the act of political leadership, there is no question that determination of the appropriate general strategy affects all political developments and the process of socialist construction in each country, especially since at present formulation of strategy is incompatible with adoption of any "model" or any predetermined, "universally valid" principles and formulas. It involves and also demands an eminently creative effort by each party to develop and improve the general principles of scientific socialism by itself in accordance with the particular conditions under which they are applied and prove valid, with the experience acquired and the stage reached by each country, and with the advances of science and human knowledges in the context of the general contradictions of today's world. Formulation of strategy is not only a result of study, comprehensive and appropriate interpretation of the theoretical and ideological problems, but also and to the same extent (by virtue of the formulated objectives and the planned methods and their application in actual social practice) each party's own contribution to the enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice and to the improvement of the socialist awareness of communists and all workers.

It is from that viewpoint that the RCP approached and is solving the theoretical and strategic problems of socialist construction in Romania, as an inalienable attribute of its political leadership. In view of the objective fact that socialism is not built in the same conditions but in conditions and forms differing from one country to another, after the Ninth Party Congress the RCP put a stop to the mistaken ideas about building the new order, stereotypes, the so-called single model, and other practices incompatible with creative application of the objective laws to the needs and particular features of Romania's socioeconomic development, as Nicolae Ceausescu also says in his speech on 28 November 1988. Under its secretary general's leadership, the RCP has accordingly engaged with revolutionary boldness and firmness in the extensive procedure of realistic determination of the ways and means of accomplishing the major tasks of socialist construction and adequate clarification of the many immediate and long-range problems of determining the strategy and the general political policy and the means of implementing the latter in practice.

Based on its own innovating idea of application of socialist principles to the particular Romanian conditions, the party's general political strategy is reflected in

its program, which provides a clear view of the entire people's activities and sets the goals and tasks of the present stage, which is the third in the process of revolutionary reforms and socialist construction in Romania. The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, which is the theoretical, ideological and political charter of the RCP, provides viable scientific answer to the most far-reaching problems and prospects of future national development and is the expression of creative Marxism in Romania.

Indeed the RCP Program and the other party documents, first among which is Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Joint Session of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, the Democratic Bodies and the Mass and Public Organizations of 28-30 November 1988, provides a magnificent view of Romanian socialist society's development in outlining the strategic directions of the constructive activity of the party, the state and the entire people. What lends the RCP's strategy for building the fully developed socialist society an authentic scientific basis is primarily the fact that its aims, conclusions and expectations are based on in-depth analysis, in the spirit of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, of the specific Romanian socioeconomic facts and also on careful examination of the great processes and changes going on in the world of today. The party's strategy advances new concepts essential to comprehension and interpretation of the facts and new principles and ideas of action in order to fulfill the entire people's vital aspirations.

By correctly rehabilitating the inevitably necessary correlation between the national structure and the social factors in socialist construction, the RCP brought out the need of recognizing and making full use of the progressive role of the nation in the whole period of socialist and communist construction, and of abundantly reflecting the specific national historical conditions in the content of the revolutionary strategy. Along with this fundamental principles and stemming from its internal logic, the RCP's strategy includes among its definitive points the regular principle of building socialism with the people and for the people; and the quintessence of the democratic and profoundly humanist character and purpose of the new order, of the continuation on a higher level of the entire Romanian people's unity and progressive traditions, and of their manifestation as the active and purposeful subject creating their destiny under party leadership.

Devised and implemented in conformity with those objective requirements, the RCP's strategy is closely associated with the principle of national sovereignty and independence as a controlling factor for creative application of the general truths to the national historical conditions and for the normal development of current international relations, and with its natural corollary as well, namely the principle that only its own people are

legitimately entitled to judge the correctness of the party's political policy and the way the general socialist principles are to be implemented in Romania.

Consideration of these primary strategic aims and scientific analysis of the Romanian situation led the RCP to formulate in its program the principle of building the fully developed socialist society as an overall, long-term strategic objective. This also involves bringing Romania up to a higher level of material and cultural progress, or making it possible to fully assert the principles and advantages of socialism, as well as the methodology and ways and means whereby action is to be taken to reach that stage of socialist development, that is to make the qualitative changes, successive or simultaneous, in all social activities such as the technical-material base, development of production relations and forces, promotion and improvement of democracy, the increasingly important role of science, education and culture, ideological and political-educational work to form the new man as the purposeful builder of socialism and communism, etc.

This overall objective includes a wide range of intermediate objectives, general or peculiar to a given field, as well as the ways and means of action on the economic, social, political-organizational and ideological levels, since fulfillment of the tasks of one stage is basic to determination of the tasks of the next stage and to improvement of the ways and means of action in conformity with the new priorities and requirements. In the economic field, for instance, the RCP pointed out the fact that without a continuing high growth rate of the productive forces and their rational allocation throughout the country, without due attention to all sectors of the national economy, or without intensive use of the material and manpower resources on the basis of contemporary scientific and technological advances and of consolidated and improved socialist ownership, Romania would be unable to surpass the stage of a developing country and become, as soon as possible, a medium-sized developed country and then an intensively developed one from the economic point of view. Accordingly, extensive material and manpower forces and major economic and political-organizational levers were concentrated on those priority aims, so that by allocating a considerable portion of the national income (about one-third) to the development fund and by further consolidation of cooperative socialist ownership and that of the entire people, Romania was transformed in the course of only three 5-year plans (1965-1980) into an industrial-agrarian country with an industry and an agriculture in full progress and a considerable gain in national wealth.

The principle of planning all socioeconomic activity and managing it uniformly is one of the organizational levers that has proved viable in the series of measures used to implement the party's strategy, and the organs of the socialist state have an important and constantly growing role to play in that. Uniform management of society on the basis of the Unified National Plan is harmonized

with the responsibility and extensive initiative of the socioeconomic units, whose organization and operation have been based on the principles of self-management, self-administration and self-financing, and an integrated system of workers revolutionary democratic bodies has been created for that purpose. When we add to all these resources the extensive measures to democratize society and the state, to improve the remuneration system, social and production relations, the economic-financial mechanism and the training system, to select and assign personnel, to develop education, science and culture, and to intensify and improve political-ideological work and indoctrination, we have the complete picture of the party's strategy for building the fully developed socialist society, uniform in nature and scientifically substantiated in all its components.

The 13th Party Congress' evaluation of the results obtained in implementing the RCP's strategy for building the fully developed socialist society made it possible to set Romania's transition by the end of the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan to a new and higher stage of development, that of a medium-sized developed socialist country, as the main goal of the present stage. It is a realistic aim, quite feasible through accentuation of the intensive character of industrial development and that of the other activities, application of the gains of science and toward technology, modernization of the production processes, further consolidation and improvement of socialist ownership, and consistent application of the principles and methods of uniform, scientific socioeconomic management.

Moreover, as Nicolae Ceausescu points out, there are many new problems now that have to better studied and understood in order to give the party a clear orientation and perspective. Of course, as we know, a clear ideological conception creates the basis for a program and an appropriate orientation of the directions of social development, provided that they reflect the specific realities of each country. This truth has always been a concern of our party which, proceeding consistently from the general principles of scientific socialism, makes a constant effort to determine the best ways of applying them in practice according to the particular conditions in Romania, for purposes of creative development of the revolutionary theory and practice. It is upon this truth, as well as the necessity of asserting the principles of national sovereignty and independence, which are required with the authority of some objective laws of the historical development of socialism, that every communist party's inalienable right to determine its political policy in full autonomy with no outside interference is based, as well as its right to determine its strategy and tactics independently, including a number of new theories, ideas and principles in connection with them. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "The general objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism are no dogmas but guides to development of the revolutionary theory under new conditions and in close connection with the new stage and the new facts, but while constantly maintaining the revolutionary spirit and conception in all activity."

There is accordingly no question that every communist party, as the legitimate representative and leading political force of the working class and the entire people in each country, which alone can best know the facts and understand and express the way of life and the aspirations of its own people, has not only the right but also the duty to develop its own revolutionary strategy and tactics and to make its contribution to the enrichment of the general views on socialism. The current realities refute both the claim that any particular course of development is a "model" or "universally valid" strategy and the possibility of solving the problems facing a party by mechanically copying the strategies and solutions recommended in another country. Experience has proved that such attempts are incompatible with the need of adequate understanding of the dialectical relationship between the general and the particular and overlook the objective fact that the developmental stages, and accordingly the problems that arise in each country, cannot be identical but have particular characteristics and require different solutions.

The main consideration is that while consistently but also differently applying the requirements of the objective laws, each party should also meet its regular obligation to maintain the revolutionary spirit, to enrich the theory of scientific socialism and to realize, as the RCP secretary general points out, that any improvement of the economic principles or of the strategy for socioeconomic management must secure the socialist development of society and not open the way to capitalist forms, which would only seriously impair future development, socialist construction, and the peoples' welfare and independence.

The current strategy for Romania's development devised by the 13th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, as well as their guidelines and conclusions concerning the courses of action for Romania's transition in the next decade to the second stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society included in the program-speech on 28 November 1988, are in an inseparable unity with the RCP's full commitment to carry them out, reflecting the comprehensive and all-inclusive character of political management and exercise of party leadership in all fields of socialist construction. Experience proves that strategy and general political policy, however correct they may be, are not sufficient by themselves to secure the exercise of party leadership automatically. Taking account of the dialectical interaction between preparation of political policy and the practical organizational effort its aims and provisions, the speech on 28 November pointed out once again the necessity of direct involvement of the party and its organs and organizations as well as its personnel and activists in implementing, in all fields, the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society, the guarantee of fulfillment of its historic mission as a revolutionary political force.

'Direct Involvement in Socioeconomic Organization and Management' by Viorel I. Cornescu

Experience has proved that the new society in all its components cannot be built automatically but solely in a purposeful, organized way through constant mobilization and guidance of all the workers' efforts. There is no question that this very far-reaching undertaking requires a revolutionary political force to unite all social forces and to lead the nation on the path of socialism, freedom, independence, sovereignty and all-around progress. In Romania this revolutionary, unifying and mobilizing force is the RCP, the leader and organizer of all the changes made throughout society in the years of socialist construction. Armed with the revolutionary ideology of the working class, which enhances its ability to determine the laws of social development scientifically, to understand the socioeconomic phenomena and processes and their main trends, and to devise the general political policy and the specific courses of action accordingly, the RCP is the leading and mobilizing political force in all socioeconomic activities.

As the chief component of the system of social organization, the national economy is one of the fields that primarily require the exercise of party leadership. The theoretical views on the courses of all economic processes, quantitative and qualitative growth, structural changes, long-range policies, etc., as well as the corresponding organizational activity originate alike in the economic policy crafted and determined by the party and in all the workers' creative and responsible activity directed, organized and guided by the party.

On the basis of in-depth analyses, the RCP prepares the economic policy (as an integral part of its general strategy for social development) for each stage of the revolutionary process, setting the priorities and courses of action in order to make better use of the nation's entire material, human and financial resources, to strike a dynamic balance in the national economy, and to promote the new and the advances of the current scientific-technical revolution in all economic sectors. The efforts to determine the strategy for socioeconomic development, which is one of the main aspects of the exercise of the party's political leadership, are apparent in the specific operational programs structured according to fields and sectors and providing not only for overall economic guidance but also for the terms for implementing the programs and for management and organization of the national economy in all its components. To that end the party has been trying to keep improving the economic mechanism and to find ways and means of managing and operating that will bring about a suitable structure for the economic processes and for best use of the national economy's resources.

The party's vital roles in planned management of the national economy, in making the main policies and in securing the balanced development of the whole economy according to the Unified National Plan should be

pointed out in this connection. The party's economic function is legitimized by the chief goals themselves of the system which it is its historic mission to bring about, namely securing social justice and equality and constantly raising the material and cultural living standards of all workers. It is clear that in order to attain these supreme goals special emphasis must be placed on socioeconomic activity and production relations, permitting resolutions of contradictions that may arise, and preventing anarchic operation of the objective economic laws. The profoundly humanist goal of party policy accordingly requires an economic orientation that will always guarantee enforcement of the workers' basic socioeconomic rights and especially the right to work, application of the socialist principles of remuneration, and protection and further development of socialist ownership.

The problems of planned management of the national economy are priority ones by their nature and require higher standards for the party's direct responsibility for economic organization and management. For instance, the party has the controlling role in setting the growth rates and main proportions of material production, in distributing the national income between the consumption fund and the fund for socioeconomic development, in determining the volume and structure of investments, in rational allocation of the productive forces throughout the country, and in channeling foreign trade, finances and credit, etc. Of course all these are elements of the party's economic strategy in the first place, but since they involve the party's responsibility for the present and future of the nation, the strategy also requires an extensive practical and political-organizational effort to implement them. The conclusions formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu (in his speech on 28 November 1988) concerning the party's direct responsibility for implementing the operational programs and plans are of particular theoretical and practical importance from this point of view, since that responsibility cannot be replaced either by that of the state organs and workers self-management bodies or by that of other social and political forces or bodies. "We must never forget that only if the party will work with all its strength to implement the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for the Advance Toward Communism do we have a guarantee of its success."

On the basis of this guiding principle, derived from present experience and the trends of future development, the party feels that its best personnel should be directly involved in management of the economic, scientific and social state organs in order to carry out the policy of national socioeconomic development, thus combining the party's work with that of managing the various activities. This requirement was met in Romania by plurality of functions and by creating such original forms of organization as the twofold party and state bodies, which perform an essential role especially in economic planning, organization and management.

Through its organs and organizations, the party is also deeply involved both organizationally and politically in arranging the activity of the workers self-management bodies in all socioeconomic units, since the secretary of the party organization also serves as chairman of the workers council. By specifically political methods the party performs its function as organizer and mobilizer of the workers collectives via its organs and organizations in enterprises, centrals, ministries and other institutions in order to accomplish the objectives in the Unified National Plan. The party also works for more intensive development of the roles of the workers collectives and self-management bodies in the basic units of the economy in regard to both economic planning and fulfillment of the assigned tasks. Accordingly there is a dialectical correlation between the greater responsibility of the state organs, the workers revolutionary democratic bodies, and the workers collectives on the one hand and consolidation of the party's leadership, especially through its direct involvement in implementing the developmental programs and through its redoubled efforts on behalf of the efficiency of those bodies on the other hand.

The guidelines and directions in the April Theses and in the speech on 28 November 1988 and the party's measures to improve the mechanism of socioeconomic management have made it possible now to make an increasingly good correlation between uniform management of society on the basis of the Unified National Plan and the workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration of the economic units.

In the whole process of economic management and organization in the present stage, our party is specially emphasizing the qualitative aspects and intensive factors of development and trying in that way, as in all sectors of the national economy, to obtain the highest possible labor productivity, products on high technical and qualitative levels, and more efficient use of all resources, productive capital, and Romania's entire material and intellectual potential. That policy follows both from the measured adopted on the central level to base all activity on economic principles and from the party's constant effort to form the best possible macroeconomic structure to promote economic-financial self-administration and self-financing. We are referring here to the improvements made in recent years in the economic mechanism in Romania, which have been and are based on Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's views on socioeconomic development and greater economic effectiveness. To that end the party has initiated a number of improvements in all economic levers and instruments, administrative methods, and management of the economic units and the entire economy. The system of economic-financial relationships among units and between them and the socialist state is being further improved. The management organs of the economic units have broad powers and functions of this kind, enabling them to direct production according to the real general needs of the economy, the demands on the domestic and foreign markets, and the operation of the

objective economic laws. Indeed, this approach enables the managements of the economic units to check more carefully not only the overall results obtained but also the economic-financial and productive activity in different segments such as assimilation of new products and technologies, technical and technological preparations for manufacture, technical and qualitative improvement of products, tight quality control, production cost compared with the estimate, with that in comparable units, and with the selling price, competitiveness on the domestic and foreign markets, etc.

The party's promotion of this approach in management and organization on the micro-and macroeconomic levels not only makes for a sound correlation of the various aspects of economic activity according to the criteria of efficiency, competitiveness and saving time but also encourages creativeness, originality and promotion of the new on all levels. Closely correlated, the two trends reflect the realistic, uniform leadership that the party exercises in society and its capacity for creative sociopolitical initiative.

The emphasis the RCP places on promotion of the new and of the most advanced gains of science and technology in all economic activity should be noted in this connection. The party regards science not only as a direct productive force but also as a powerful instrument of socioeconomic organization, management and planning, and the whole process of management and organization is accordingly devised and adapted to meet the demands of the new advances of the current scientific-technical revolution and of the science of socialist management of society. That includes not only scientific management on all levels by modern methods of management and organization but also recruitment of specialists with a broad professional, scientific and political-ideological background and an advanced revolutionary awareness.

The RCP has been consistently working toward promotion of scientific, realistic and efficient economic management. Through its institution and constant improvement of the forms of worker participation in economic organization and management, through its firm opposition to manifestations of routine and bureaucracy and irresponsible management of the economic units' funds, and through its efforts to keep improving the economic mechanism, the party is deeply and directly involved in the economic activity of society and functions as a controlling factor in its organization and management.

'Mobilizing Power of Workers Revolutionary Democracy' by University Reader Dr Nicolae Dinut

Sociopolitical experience bears out the fact that democracy in the new social system is not instituted and does not operate automatically, purely and simply as an effect of the characteristic features and conditions of socialism. Development and improvement of socialist democracy are actually results of the purposeful, creative and responsible efforts of the working class and the masses

under the lead of their revolutionary party. The progress of the revolutionary process in Romania and in other socialist countries as well shows that in socialism the social dialectics are strongly characterized by the unprecedented development of the role of the subjective factor in all activities, as a natural and objective outcome of the necessity of purposeful construction of the new society and the accordingly decreased importance of the chance factors in society.

With its historic role of guiding the working class and the entire people in socialist and communist construction, the Communist Party provides the political leadership of society as a whole. The legitimate demand for a greater role for the political factor and the human factor in general in purposeful management of the social processes accordingly keeps enhancing party leadership in every stage of socialist society as the vital political force that initiates and stimulates all efforts to expand and improve our socialist democracy. Constantly and deeply involved in revolutionary construction and renovation of society, the Communist Party works tirelessly to find the ways to resolve the contradictions efficiently that are inherent in the dialectics of socialist society and to improve the operational mechanisms of the socialist sociopolitical system according to the requirements for building the new order and for intensively promoting the democratism of this new kind of social organization.

Not only the final results of political action but also the way they are obtained are highly important to the Communist Party, which has assumed the supreme historical obligation of building the most humane social system with and for the people. To that end the party constantly stresses knowledge of the workers' concerns and aspirations and works in close contact with the masses in order to serve the entire people's interests. This principle of sociopolitical management is vital because as Nicolae Ceausescu says, if the party's leadership and its ties with the masses weaken, negative elements and defects accumulate that lead to the appearance and aggravation of contradictions sooner or later and may even cause crises.

Developing and improving the democratic structures of the socialist political system and adapting them to the new social requirements are constant concerns of the RCP's as the new social relations are asserted and its role of scientific organization and operation of all social activity is developed. Under the impetus of the innovating guidelines set by the Ninth Party Congress, a new and revolutionary approach to those problems set in, and the old, outmoded ways of life were replaced by new ways and means of managing, mobilizing and committing all the creative energies of the people. Meanwhile the RCP has been specially emphasizing further development of its internal democracy through all party members' active participation in crafting and implementing its internal and external policies, as a guarantee of the success of party leadership in society, and of the improvement of socialist democracy as well.

While developing and improving its own democratic operating structure, in the last 24 years the party has also created a vast unique system for the democratic organization and operation of all society, namely the system of workers revolutionary democracy. Based on the principles of socialist construction with and for the people and of self-management, self-financing and self-administration, and deeply anchored in the Romanian socioeconomic facts, that system provides for and encourages all workers' participating in making, adopting and implementing decisions about the whole activity of the socio-economic units wherein they work and that of the entire country.

By expanding the structure for display of creative initiative on the scale of society as a whole, workers revolutionary democracy is not detracting in the least from the party's role and responsibilities in political management of all activities. On the contrary, it is enhancing that role even further and requiring strengthened order and discipline as well as the responsible commitment, on all social levels, of every worker and the whole nation to implementation of the developmental plans and programs. In his speech on 28 November 1988 Nicolae Ceausescu says, "The increased responsibilities of the state organs, the workers revolutionary democratic bodies, and the workers' collectives do not conflict with consolidation of party leadership. On the contrary, development of democracy requires more intensive party activity as an objective necessity, as well as greater responsibilities for party personnel, activists and communists in all fields, on behalf of the efficiency of those bodies." Dialectical correlation of the growth of party leadership with the increased responsibilities of the state organs and the masses democratic bodies is the controlling factor for consolidating the entire people's unity and effective strength and also for the party's fulfillment of its historic mission as political leader and vital center of the whole nation.

The fact that these objective processes are not mutually exclusive but supplement each other and are interdependent lends the party an even greater responsibility for the efficiency of the workers revolutionary democratic system and for exemplary performance of the functions and roles of the component bodies in managing the various activities. This involves both general political guidance and direction of the democratic bodies by defining and effecting their powers in conformity with the principles and standards of other legally instituted structure and with the party's general strategy, which it is a main duty of theirs to implement, and direct involvement of party members and personnel in the activity of the state organs and workers self-management bodies in order to invigorate it but by no means to replace the roles and responsibilities of the respective bodies. The party's direct involvement in this area too, and in the other socioeconomic activities as well, is due to the objective necessity of its participation in implementing its own program and of involving all the democratic bodies as well as the entire people's creative energies and channeling them in the same direction.

The RCP is specially emphasizing optimal correlation of state social management (which ensures fulfillment of the general interests of society and uniform, centralized direction of socioeconomic development according to the Unified National Plan) with the role and responsibility of the workers' revolutionary democratic bodies, which in their turn encourage the workers' participation and spirit of initiative. The guidelines, directions and requirements formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu are particularly important in this respect, concerning as they do the necessity of consistent use of an approach and working methods by the self-management bodies in the economic units that will make their management effective, as the outcome of the workers' collective thought and widespread participation in making and adopting the decisions and in evaluating the results of their own activity. Accordingly, improvement of the workers' self-management system requires, among other things, continuing improvement of the information structure as an essential for knowledge and correct evaluation by all elements involved of the data and information about the units' economic-productive activity and about the problems facing each collective.

As Nicolae Ceausescu says in the April Theses, in enhancing the role of self-management it is highly important to change the attitude of the central organs (the state ones primarily) toward the workers' revolutionary democratic bodies in the sense of abandoning methods of supervision and replacement of the legal functions conferred on the latter and also letting the self-management organs assume more of their responsibilities in planning and in solving the economic and social problems. Provision for a harmonious combination and active collaboration between the state organs and the self-management ones is essential for developing the functions of the whole system of socioeconomic management as well as one of the major aims of improving the socialist democratic system and enhancing its political leadership.

The opinions and conclusions in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech on 28 November 1988, and in other party documents, concerning the need of improving the work of the elements involved in socioeconomic management bring home the fact that the RCP is firmly committed to political management and mobilization of all of the nation's creative forces and energies and is working consistently to find efficient ways and means of developing socialist democracy, while pursuing the efficiency of the sociopolitical system as a whole.

'Revolutionary Spirit in Political-Educational Work' by Pamfil Nichitelea

The RCP and its secretary general feel that the party is the vital center of the socialist nation and the organizer and mobilizer of all activities and that it must accordingly assume its political responsibility for the entire progress of socialist construction, from material production to political-educational work and from improvement of social relations to scientific, artistic and cultural

activities. Therefore it is objectively necessary to include the problems of ideological and political-educational work among the party's main concerns as an essential component of its role as the leading political force. This requirement is based on the very way in which the RCP regards social leadership, not from outside society but from within the social bodies and institutions, through its increasingly complete integration in society and its ever closer ties with the masses and the people.

The party's ideological and political-educational work is characterized by a creative, realistic approach to the problems of socialist revolution and construction, and that activity is basic to the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, the RCP Ideological Program, Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works, the decisions of the party congresses and conferences and the plenums of the RCP Central Committee, and the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism.

Bearing the stamp of the party secretary general's powerful personality and innovative, profoundly dialectical thought, the whole theoretical and political-ideological effort made in the period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress vividly illustrates the continuing effort to keep renovating the revolutionary views on building the new order and the problems of further development and improvement of socialist society, on the basis of creative application of the principles of scientific socialism and in-depth study of experience and the social-historical facts. As Nicolae Ceausescu says in his masterly speech on 28 November 1988, "It may be rightly said that the Ninth Party Congress opened up a new revolutionary era in party activity and in socialist construction. It put a stop to conservatism, stereotyping and the notion of the 'single model' in socialist construction."

In the present stage of our society's development ideological and political-educational work must be improved and the theory and practice of building the new order must be enriched under the new conditions. The great changes in the existence of Romania, the other socialist countries, and the whole world as well call for scientific analysis and development, on that basis, of the principles of scientific socialism and the dialectical-materialist conception of society, as well as formulation of clear answers to the chief questions of socialism and of the contradictions between capitalism and socialism and between the "third world" countries and the developed capitalist ones.

Accordingly, as it says in the speech on 28 November 1988, special emphasis is required on thorough study and correct interpretation of such major problems as the operation of the objective laws in general development and under the specific conditions of socialist construction, the roles of socialist ownership and material incentives, the dialectics of the general and particular interests, the correlation between the general and particular in application of the objective laws, and improvement of

the economic principles and social management in view of the need of developing society on a socialist basis and the fact that socialism is built under conditions that vary from one country to another and therefore there can be no "model" for it, and that socialism cannot be imposed from outside or "imported," nor can it be stopped by "exporting" counterrevolution. Moreover ideological work and research in the social sciences must bring home the objective, inevitable character of construction and development of socialism, its superiority and vitality, and the capacity of the new order to secure socioeconomic development and to solve the masses' and the peoples' vital problems in a new and better way.

The prospective aspect of theoretical and political-ideological work, manifested in scientific determination of political policy and of revolutionary strategy and tactics, is closely combined with the political-operational aspect of mobilizing the masses to carry them out and with its educational purpose of forming the new man and of fully developing the personalities of the builders of the new society.

Formation and development of revolutionary socialist awareness, vitally important objectives of the vast changes being made in the new society in its higher stages especially, are impossible without strengthening the party's power to act and without an intensive effort by the party and the other bodies in the workers revolutionary democratic system to arm the workers with the revolutionary conception of the world and life and to keep broadening the masses' scientific and cultural background. Accordingly, ideological and political-educational work in its various forms (propaganda, literary-artistic output, mass information media), as an integral part of the party's management of the revolutionary process of building the new order, actively influences society and is a powerful factor for changing awareness.

The extent and significance of the tasks and the higher qualitative level on which the problems of the new stage of Romanian society's development must be solved considerably enhance the roles of the subjective factor and the revolutionary spirit in social awareness and action. In the spirit of the decisions of the 13th Party Congress, the National Party Conference and the April Theses, Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the high democratic forum in November 1988 stresses the requirement to bring all ideological-educational work up to the level of the progress made in the task of socialist construction. That requirement is especially necessary because, as the party secretary general says, the necessity has been repeatedly expressed by the RCP ever since the Ninth Party Congress, has not been understood in the entirety and urgency of its implications, and at times the mistaken idea gains ground among party personnel and activists in the field of propaganda that in view of the noteworthy results obtained by concentrating efforts on implementation of the programs for development of the material base, science and technology, no broad or intensive political-ideological effort is any longer

needed. Therefore the party secretary general points out the necessity of eliminating the lag in ideological work and in the general political-educational level compared with the development of production relations and forces, and of increasing the contribution of all educational elements to the greater effectiveness of political-educational work as a whole.

The ideological and political-educational effort to form the new man is a comprehensive activity with a broad theoretical and scientific basis aimed at all-around formation of the personalities of the builders of socialism. It involves, in an inseparable unity, constant improvement of the political-ideological level and socialist awareness of the communists and all workers through assimilation of historical and dialectical-materialism, the most advanced conception of the world and life, formation of advanced and permanent political convictions, cultivation of devotion to party, country and people, and complete loyalty to the ideals of socialism and communism, knowledge of the major scientific advances, complete mastery of a profession, and understanding and appreciation of the values of national and world culture.

The militant revolutionary ideology is the constituent nucleus and essence of socialist awareness, so that the chief mission of political-educational work is to enhance the political-ideological level and knowledge of the communists and workers and to consistently promote the humanist ideals and outlook on the world and life.

Accordingly the requirement to promote the revolutionary spirit intensively and to foster a creative, innovative viewpoint and attitude and a sense of responsibility for achieving a new and higher quality in all activities is becoming more and more important in carrying out the provisions of the RCP Ideological Program. It calls for bold thought and action, determined opposition to all that is old and outmoded and backward and obscurantist, nationalist and chauvinist ideas and attitudes, consistent promotion of all that is new and valuable, a climate of high standards, development of a spirit of initiative and responsibility in exemplary fulfillment of obligations and assignments, consolidation of order and discipline, and strict observance of party decisions and laws of the land.

Further improvement of professional, technical-scientific and cultural training is closely related to the level of revolutionary awareness, since all political-educational work is expected to broaden every worker's background of political, scientific, technical and general cultural knowledge. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We are living in a period of enormous advances of science and technology in all activities and of human knowledge in general. We must fully realize that we will raise the general level of training of the builders of socialism in Romania only if we arm youth, the workers and the entire people with these newer and newer advances of science and human knowledge."

In view of the fact that patriotic education is an inseparable part of formation of the new man, the party is making a regular effort toward intensive development of feelings of love of country, socialism and the people. Knowledge and appreciation of the Romanian people's glorious past of struggle for national freedom, unity and independence and promotion of the spirit of selfless dedication to Romania's continued prosperity are vital aims of political-ideological work, since socialist patriotism is the main revolutionary resource of people's work and lives and the means of connecting the eternal values of the past with the great demands of the present and future. Moreover, as the party secretary general says, education and development of socialist patriotism must be dialectically combined with the spirit of international solidarity and friendship and collaboration with all countries of the world.

The greater demands upon political-ideological and educational work are closely related to the sense of responsibility and party spirit in which the party organizations, the mass and public organizations, and all cultural-educational institutions must always act. That is why the RCP Ideological Program, the documents of the 13th Party Congress and of the National Party Conference, the April Theses and Nicolae Ceausescu's speech specified a series of measures to increase the responsibilities of all educational elements, including the uniform management of all political-educational work done by the party and by the democratic bodies and mass and public organizations, as well as that of the ideological institutions, those for research in the social sciences and for instruction, education and culture, and the mass information media.

The increasingly intensive promotion of the party's leadership, especially in the ideological and political-educational field, is reflected in the militant, aggressive spirit of every party organization and every communist in developing their role in guiding and channeling all political-educational and cultural work to make a telling contribution to the workers' better political, ideological and technical-occupational training, to development of the revolutionary spirit and sense of responsibility at work and in life, and to a real revolution in the way of thinking and behavior of every worker and the entire people.

'Improved Approach and Working Methods' by Univ Reader Dr Constantin Voineag

The question of the dialectical interdependence between development of party leadership and further improvement of the approach and working methods of the party organs and organizations and their managers is one of the problems of vital theoretical and practical importance considered in depth by Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech on 28 November 1988. Moreover the problems of the approach and working methods and the need of

improving them are prominent in all of Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works and in his brilliant practical revolutionary activity as well.

The new standards and requirements Nicolae Ceausescu has formulated for improving the approach of the party organs and organizations, the party and state activists, and the mass and public organizations are based on the unprecedented vitality and diversity of the revolutionary process in Romania, which require further development of the party's leadership in all areas of socialist construction.

It is well known that better performance of the party's historic mission involves all aspects of management. Development of the party's role to meet the current and long-range requirements of the revolutionary process accordingly makes it necessary to develop many activities, theoretical as well as practical, organizational, political and ideological, to harmonize them, and to adopt an approach and working methods suited to political management, to the particular field in which the party organs and organizations operate, and to the new tasks now facing them. It is on that basis that the particular importance that Nicolae Ceausescu attaches to the problems of organizational and political-ideological work in order to enhance the party's leadership, as well as the chief aims of improving the approach and working methods in socioeconomic management in general, can be better understood.

One of these aims is the object of the continuing effort of the party and its organs and organizations toward a thorough knowledge of the socioeconomic facts, processes and phenomena, the material and human forces, and the structural changes taking place in society in order to solve the very involved problems of national development and to secure uniform management of all socioeconomic activities. Regular determination of the facts and shifting the main thrust of the activity to the basic organizations and the socioeconomic units, where the decisions are actually carried out, lend the activity a specific and effective content.

This requirement is the natural outcome of the party's responsibilities as the leading political force to organize all activity, to distribute our society's forces and personnel wisely, to unite the efforts of the workers and the state and democratic bodies in order to carry out its political policy and the plans and programs for socioeconomic development, to act promptly and efficiently, and to find, jointly with the respective collectives, the solutions essential to the best performance of the activity in each individual sector. Therefore it directly reflects the party's firm commitment to the political management of society, a fact that affects both the efficiency of its management in general and the particular ways and means of performing its functions.

Of course for this purpose the party organs and organizations are expected to make increasingly good use of the courses of action validated by the wealth of experience acquired in the years of socialist construction and especially in the years following the Ninth Party Congress. But at the same time it is their duty to keep improving their organizational and political-educational work and to diversify their working methods in order to include in their efforts all the new problems that are arising in the present stage, to apply in practice the principles of the party's internal organization and operation, and to rationalize the relations among the party, the state, and the other political and social bodies making up the workers revolutionary democratic system.

Experience has proved that supporting the party organs and organizations in all their organizational and political-educational work among the masses of workers and consulting and involving the communists and the members of every workers collective in drafting and adopting decisions and measures are vital to increasingly intensive promotion of party leadership. Consulting them about the most diverse problems confronting our society and the activity in any given field, strong encouragement of their initiative, and consideration and use of the good suggestions of the party members and workers collectives are not only factors on which more intensive promotion of workers revolutionary democracy depends but also important resources of party work that can help to improve the effort to apply the party decisions and national laws in practice and to meet the requirement to unite and stimulate the creative energies of the masses, which are essential attributes of the party's political management of society.

The necessity of the direct and active participation of the party organs and organizations in implementing the revolutionary reforms required by the party's policy also follows from the RCP's views on the exercise of its leadership. Therefore the party's approach and working methods must be distinguished by their vitality and militant revolutionary spirit and by the all-out commitment of every party organ and organization to implementing the goals set and the measures and decisions adopted by the party as well as its own decisions. Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly said that exercise of party leadership requires a sustained and responsible effort by the communists and the party organs and organizations to carry out their diverse tasks, political, economic and social, in the units and sectors wherein they operate. In the absence of any such effort or any regularly and permanently organized attempt to implement the decisions and national laws, irregularities and contradictions, negative phenomena, and instances of cursory routine, irresponsibility and inefficiency may result.

It is accordingly a first requirement for improving the party's approach and working methods to keep checking the unfailing implementation of the party's decisions and adopted measures and to take firm, organized action to carry out the plans and programs in every activity. To

that end the party and its secretary general stress the need of greater individual and collective responsibility in all work done by communists, party organs, personnel with management functions, and activists. According to the principles and standards of the Party Regulations and the responsibilities entrusted to them by the party and society, they are all obligated to set an example at work and in life and in performing their tasks. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, the development of the party's leadership ultimately depends upon the communists' greater responsibility in all of their activity. Therefore routine, complacency, attempts to justify failures, irresponsibility, and cursory criticism and self-criticism without thorough analysis of the real situations or drawing conclusions and taking the right measures to improve the activity are quite foreign to the revolutionary approach.

As a major requirement for improving their approach and working methods, the party organs and organizations must make a regular effort to perform their functions in implementing party policy uniformly in all its aspects and in every activity, by closely combining the task of guiding and organizing the effort to carry out the decisions with careful assignment of the tasks and involvement of the communists and all workers in implementing them, by analyzing and controlling the whole activity, by training, selecting and promoting personnel, by studying the facts carefully and evaluating the possibilities of improving social organization and management, by participating in making the party's general political policy and decisions, by playing an active, direct and leading part in the efforts toward socioeconomic development, and by coordinating the political-ideological and cultural-educational effort to form the new man.

The RCP's experience proves that in the present stage competent management of the far-reaching processes of socialist construction requires the party organizations to make increasingly efficient use of all the ways and means of organizational and ideological-educational work in an inseparable unity, to consolidate the party organs' ties with the workers, and to make a greater effort to indoctrinate and train personnel and to raise their ideological and professional standards so that they can best fulfill their responsibilities and assignments. To that end special emphasis must be placed on proper training for an in-depth understanding of economic problems and socioeconomic management, for competitive occupation of management positions and functions, and for consistent application of the principle of rotation of personnel and the provisions for the probationary period both for party and state personnel and for personnel in the other fields. In his speech on 28 November 1988 Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We must apply the provisions of party and state control without exception and even further emphasize the way we promote personnel, their training, and continuing improvement of their professional, technical-scientific, cultural and political-ideological standards."

Meanwhile improvement of the approach and working methods of the party organs and organizations requires intensive promotion of the revolutionary spirit as an inherent characteristic of all organizational and political-educational work. Promotion of the revolutionary spirit at work, in thought and in all areas is indispensable to the triumph of the new in the struggle with inertia, routine and outmoded methods and attitudes. It guarantees the greater capacity of the party organizations and the party as a whole to exercise their leadership in the task of socialist and communist construction.

'Stronger Party Unity, Responsibility, and Discipline'
by Iulian Popescu

The growing diversity of the task of socialist construction, the need of uniform direction of the material and human efforts, and the more and more intensive organization of the social processes, as major characteristics and trends of the present stage, make it necessary to bring the party's leadership up to new and qualitatively higher levels. The party's legitimate revolutionary mission of stimulating socioeconomic activity, uniting the entire people's efforts and concentrating them in a single direction rests on the solid ground of its political-organizational and ideological unity. Therefore the statutory basis itself and the principles and standards of the revolutionary party's organization and activity are designed to maintain and consolidate the unity of will and action of its members and of the party organs and organizations of all levels, as an indispensable requirement for the vitality and strength of the party, the attainment of its goals, and the success of the revolutionary effort.

As Nicolae Ceausescu says in his speech on 28 November 1988, "Throughout the period of socialist construction and especially since the Ninth Party Congress the RCP has continually developed and become a powerful political force honorably performing its role as political leader of the entire nation's destinies. Firm measures have been taken to improve the party's organization and to develop party democracy in the systems for promoting personnel and election the party organs from the top down, and in increasing the responsibilities and roles of the party organs and organizations and the communists in adopting all decisions concerning socialist Romania's domestic and foreign policies." The basic aim of the measures to improve the party's internal affairs is to regulate the whole organization and performance of party activity uniformly. Therefore there is no question that the party's unity is also secured by the uniformity of its ideology and of the general political policy that it makes and promotes.

In his speech at the great democratic forum in November 1988 Nicolae Ceausescu quite rightly reaffirmed the truth that the party's unity and consolidation of its political-organizational and ideological strength are the

supreme guarantees of development of the party's leadership as well as vital factors for the efficient, scientific political management of society.

In his creative treatment of the problems of management throughout his theoretical works, the party secretary general brilliantly summed up the main requirements for the party's uniform and efficient scientific management of all social activities, such as sound, thorough and regular determination of the socioeconomic processes and phenomena as well as the trends and objective laws of social development, and preparation of an appropriate general political policy on that basis; exemplary organization of the activity so as to secure the efficiency of all sectors; correct evaluation and rational use of the material and human forces; proper assignment of personnel and clear definition of their duties, rights and responsibilities on all organizational levels; regular control and good recording; complete unity of thought and action as a major requirement under any circumstances and on all political-social levels, a unity based on discussion and free exchange of opinions and decisionmaking by democratic methods; knowledge of the contradictions arising in society, identification of their causes, and determination of the right measures to eliminate them; constant consolidation of the tie between party and people, and formation and improvement of the workers revolutionary democratic system, which provides for the active and purposeful participation of the workers and the people in managing all social activity. Of course all these requirements cannot be met without continuing improvement of revolutionary awareness and constant consolidation of the party's ideological and political-ideological unity. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Only a party with high revolutionary awareness and complete unity can accomplish its historic mission of leading the entire nation to the highest peaks of progress and civilization."

In the years since the Ninth Party Congress and under the impetus of Nicolae Ceausescu's profoundly innovative creative thought, the RCP has designed and implemented a new, scientific and realistic course of socialist construction in general and of performance of its tasks in each socioeconomic activity. And naturally a quite distinct emphasis was placed on the role of the party as the leading political force of society and on its historical responsibilities in the extensive task of revolutionary social reform. As a living body, it is subject to innovations itself, and it has kept enhancing its capacity to solve the complicated problems of socioeconomic progress by strengthening its unity of will and action on the basis of the great progress made and more and more intensive promotion of its revolutionary ideology. Consolidation of the party's ideological and political-organizational unity is actually the natural outcome of unfailing application of all the basic principles and standards of the party's internal affairs.

Intensive promotion of the party's internal democracy and reinforcement of individual and collective responsibility and party discipline under all circumstances and

on all the organizational levels of the party and of socioeconomic activity are critically important from this point of view. Furthermore, as inseparable aspects of democratic centralism, the party's fundamental organizational principle, internal party democracy as well as party discipline and responsibility ensure the communists' direct and responsible participation in discussion and uniform preparation of party policy, which are the context and conditions essential to true expression by the leading party organs (themselves elected democratically and operating under the control of the members of the organizations that elected them) of the will of the communists and of the regular effort to solve the major problems with their direct participation.

As a synthesis of the communists' rights and obligations and of the methods of establishing the party organs on all levels, internal party democracy makes a telling contribution to the party's political-ideological and organizational unity and to the solidarity of its ranks. Democratic solution of the problems of party work requires not only the participation of all party members in decisionmaking but also consolidation of their unity in the practical effort to carry out the established aims and tasks. It contributes to the better ideological clarification of the questions discussed, to uniform understanding of the adopted measures, and to greater awareness of the responsibility for accomplishing the entrusted tasks. Constant development of internal party democracy, a requirement clearly formulated in the RCP documents, is also one of the ways of consolidating the party's ties with the masses, of uniting the entire people around the party, and of intensively promoting workers revolutionary democracy.

Political, ideological and organizational unity lends the party a high degree of discipline and responsibility, traits characteristic of its revolutionary effort, just as in their turn observance of the essential requirements of party discipline and display of communist responsibility for the present and future of Romania and for proper performance of the tasks and function of the party organs and organizations and party members consolidate and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the party's ranks and enhance its role as the leading political force of the entire nation.

In the RCP's views and practice, the spirit of discipline and high responsibility in implementing the party's decisions and the national laws corresponds to party democracy as a correlative dimension, since every party member is obligated to make every effort to carry out the entrusted tasks. In his speech on 28 November 1988 the party secretary general said, "The party organs and organizations, the committees and bureaus of the party organizations, and the communal, municipal and county committees must unite the efforts of the communists and all workers to carry out the party's decisions and the national laws without fail."

In the process of socialist construction, development of the party's leadership (in the sense of increasing its responsibility to society for the more and more efficient performance of its functions) calls for a greater role for the basic party organizations and the party organs and organizations. Nicolae Ceausescu's conclusions are particularly important from this point of view, concerning the requirement for every party organization, in its field, to bear full responsibility for implementing all plans and programs and for the efficiency of the whole activity, as well as the necessity of constant efforts to strengthen the revolutionary spirit and order and discipline in all activities. Being called upon to decide on vital problems of the regional administrative units, enterprises, institutions, cooperative units, etc., it is the duty of the party organizations to keep enhancing their ability to understand the socioeconomic phenomena and processes and to resolve all problems in the light of the program and the general political policies, thus helping to consolidate the party's political and ideological unity.

The party organizations and the Communists are obligated to be always in the lead of the effort toward unfailing implementation of the developmental plans and programs, to prove under any circumstances that they are worthy examples for all workers to follow, to keep broadening their political backgrounds, and to improve their political and professional training. Therefore the RCP secretary general stresses the necessity of tighter party discipline, extensive discussion in the party of all social problems, creation of conditions for every party member to speak his frank opinions on all problems, and active commitment of all the energy and ability of the communists to implementation of the adopted measures according to the principles of the Regulations and always bearing in mind the fact repeatedly pointed out by Nicolae Ceausescu that no one is allowed, and must not be allowed, to disregard the principles of party work and party discipline or to violate the rules and standards of communist activity.

YUGOSLAVIA

Skopje Paper Disputes Belgrade Views on Language
21000015 Skopje FL IKA E VELLIZERIMIT in Albanian 26 reb 89 p 10

[Article by Rexhep Zllatku: "How Many Albanian Languages Are There?"]

[Text] In some of our media, the question of the unification of Albanian is treated from the standpoint of the past. What language has now remained on the plateau of dialects and speech? Modern Albanian is not a new form of Tosk. Every speaker of it knows this. Unification of the norm is a closed question.

In recent days, in some of the Belgrade media, we have encountered several opinions on the question of the unification of Albanian which are disturbing. To judge

from what has been said, we are dealing with lay people and not with individuals who hold very respected titles. But like it or not, it happens that even such people enter into the discussion.

Misinformation of readers on a sensitive question, such as language, nation, and nationality, and especially misinformation of a wider group of readers from the ranks of other nations and nationalities—who, understandably, are not familiar with these matters in detail—is very harmful. To convince these readers of the truth afterwards requires a great deal of effort, since, as is said, it is not difficult to throw a rock into a river, but it is extremely difficult to draw it out!

Failed Axioms

In the daily POLITIKA of 2 February 1989, Dr Budimir Koshutic, a professor at the Belgrade faculty of law, and Zoran Radisavlevic, his interlocutor in a conversation entitled "An Imposed Change of Language," subtitled "The Albanian Language Against the Albanians," say that in 1968 the Geg dialect—which served the Albanians of Yugoslavia—was removed from use and the Tosk dialect—employed in Albania—was established, and that thus there are no longer two variants of the Albanian language, but only one dialect remains in official use—that employed in Albania. In this conversation, Dr B. Koshutic says: "There is no doubt that replacing the Geg dialect was a blow for many Albanians, but it was a blow particularly for the Serbs, Montenegrins, and Muslims who knew the local variant of Albanian. This alienates people who knew only this language, since they also had to learn the standard written Albanian language, based on the Tosk dialect, which is not spoken in Kosovo or Metohija."

Several days later, Dr Dragoje Zharovic, in the article "Kosovo—Facts and Views," published in NIN on 12 February 1989, says: "It must certainly be affirmed that the language of the Albanians of Kosovo is very different from that of Albania."

Thus, the rock is thrown into the river; now go and draw it out! How to accomplish this "miracle"?

All right, let's proceed "by turns."

The "pearl of great price" of these ideas is this: "...Only one variant remains in official use—that employed in Albania." This means that both variants should have remained. But why two? Why not more? If we begin with dialects, why not begin lower—with regional forms of language? How many Albanian languages are there which constructed the literary language?

Such theses, data in the form of indisputable axioms, assume that these two dialects are two languages which are as different as night and day, that the matter involves two compact, developed, constructed, unified dialects—one of which is spoken only in Albania and the other

only in Yugoslavia! In reality, as is well known, both dialects are spoken in both Albania and Yugoslavia (Tosk, in the southwest of Macedonia). Some regional forms of speech in Albania are farther removed from the unified language than some regional forms of speech in Yugoslavia. It is certainly true that perhaps the differences among the dialects of Prespe, Tetovo, and Diber, for example, are greater among themselves, on the other hand, than between them and the Albanian literary language on the other. But what should we say about the Diber and Kosovo dialects if each is closer to the literary language than to any other regional speech?

A Question of Need

The questions will be clearer and better if we begin from the fact that unified Albanian is not Tosk (every speaker of it knows this). Various regional dialects are the dough from which the modern literary language has been shaped and obtained. It has been collected like nectar from all the flowers and, by good fortune, without breaking their roots, since they have still not yielded their full richness to the literary language and so that they will continue to be, in the long process, its inexhaustible source. Such an Albanian is not only the property of the Albanians of Albania, but of all. For that reason, all Albanians today use one variant—the unified norm of the Albanian language.

What people today has remained on the level of regional speech and dialects? The unification of Albanian was a necessary step which was taken very late. Others resolved this question centuries earlier, at the time of the dissolution of feudal relations, immediately after the bourgeois revolution, at the time of the process of the formation of nations. The Albanian people, like the Macedonian people and all other small, oppressed peoples undertook this step very late. It is therefore not a matter of either use of force or writing requests. It was a question of need. And we may mention here (for the sake of accuracy) that this change began to be implemented much earlier in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia than in the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo—in FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT on 13 November 1966.

Rusty Theses Must Remain in Check

"The replacement of Geg," for this reason not only did not hurt Albanians but, on the contrary, delighted them. And this cannot be a great obstacle for the Serbs, Montenegrins, and Muslims with whom they live together. This is true because it is not a matter of another language or of ungraspable changes (the irregularities of the two dialects, especially Geg, were more ungraspable). This pertains to the written language and official communications. As far as free communication is concerned, one would have to be naive to think that the Kosovars forgot the Kosovo dialect on the day that Albanian was unified! That is a long process. The time factor will accomplish this gradually, without imposition, without dictatorship—and without great difficulty. If it were

otherwise (we do not want to and cannot deny that non-Albanian speakers may have somewhat more difficulty), again, what can be said? Can this be a reason to hinder others from formulating their own literary language?

The insistence on preserving and developing one dialect to the detriment of the unified language cannot be justified either from the linguistic standpoint or from the political angle. How can the members of a nationality (any nationality) have another variant of the literary language, different from that of the people to which they belong? Or, to put it concisely, can one people have two unified languages?

The question of the unified language is a closed question. Naturally, this does not mean that an end has been put to all discussions and proposals. On the contrary, every proper contribution must be embraced. Indeed, the contributions of non-Albanian speakers must be more valuable and more welcome. In the instance under discussion, it is not a question of contributions of this kind, but of rusty, moldering theses. Surprisingly, there are still individuals who, consciously or not, attempt to sell these theses. But, in any case, they remain in check, since their buyers have gone past. This is what happens when we view a question from the extreme past, from the pluperfect tense.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Increased Military Vigilance Urged
2300132 East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German
No 6, Feb 89 p 3

[Commentary by "KHM": "On Consequences of Recent Socialist Peace Initiatives"]

[Text] If anyone needed to be convinced about the attitude of members of the Army, border guards or civilian employees toward our country's and our alliance's recent peace initiatives, he need only have placed himself behind the VOLKSARMEE's teletype in the days after 23 and 30 January. After comrade Erich Honecker announced the National People's Army unilateral reduction of troops and weapons and after release of the Warsaw Pact-NATO force comparison for Europe and adjoining waters the teletype's keys pounded incessantly in rapid-fire cadence. It was "qll" [as published] all along the line, a confirmation that the messages were received and understood. Some indication of this response is conveyed on page 10 of this issue. Everything we received by teletype, telephone and in a virtual deluge of letters is, after all, an eloquent affirmation that the foreign, security and military policies pursued by our party and government fully represent the interests of us all. Yes, we do feel that it is proper and necessary to continue the process of easing tensions and of disarmament without pausing for breath.

According to Us It Is Political and Military Doctrine

Thus, our party and government have our full consent when they take and support steps that are completely in accord with our socialist military doctrine, the primary objective of which is the prevention of any kind of war. This represents our military doctrine because it is our country's firm policy to assure that war should never again start on German soil. This policy corresponds to the determined wishes of the workers and soldiers of our country.

Therefore, our government is actively pursuing an independent policy—although coordinated with our allies—to realize the socialist peace program. This is apparent from the GDR's policy of engaging in dialogues; from doing its part to implement the INF Treaty; from its attitude at last year's international meeting for nuclear-free zones in Berlin; from its proposals to create a nuclear-free corridor, a zone free of chemical weapons and a safe zone of trust in Europe; and from its significant contribution to the successful conclusion of the third consecutive Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Vienna. This is also revealed by its attempts to normalize relations with the FRG which, in view of both states' exposed position at the sensitive demarcation line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, has a decisive affect on the European climate. The GDR, realizing that peace cannot be maintained otherwise, will

continue to offer new proposals and concrete initiatives and to prove its willingness to compromise. This, too, will advance the peace movement worldwide.

Our peace program is realistic and, therefore, realizable. However, despite our confidence, it would be criminal to overlook the fact that the international situation now as before remains complex and contradictory. Aside from measures to implement the INF Treaty, NATO has done nothing for actual disarmament. On the contrary, we can observe considerable efforts by opponents of detente to delay the momentum for improvements or, if possibly, to halt it altogether; to destabilize the socialist countries and to compensate for the destruction of their own land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles. NATO insists, now as before, on its right to nuclear deterrence and first strikes. If we analyze the military-political situation, we cannot fail to draw the consequences from the following sober conclusion: NATO has concentrated the most powerful military machine in Western Europe which imperialism has ever assembled in peacetime. Its structure, armaments, deployment, education and training is still based on an offensive strategy. The North Atlantic forces are capable of commencing aggressive acts with little lead time and with or without nuclear weapons. These are facts which strongly contradict many a statement. Would it be presumptuous to express our expectation that for NATO, too, deeds should at long last follow words? But so far, even a willingness to take so-called symbolic steps is missing.

What We Must Do

The battle for peace—as shown by experience as well as by a sober assessment of reality—was, is, and will remain intense and prolonged class warfare. Therefore, we have every reason to maintain our political and military vigilance. It is essential to implement all aspects of our socialist military doctrine consistently. Specifically, this means for our forces and its members: On the side of the Soviet Army and the armies of our other socialist allies, we assert our constitutional right and continue doing our part to maintain the strategic balance, thereby protecting and defending socialism, peace and our fatherland, the GDR. Our consistent refusal to solve political controversies by military means, our advocacy of detente and disarmament, and our efforts to give the National People's Army a consistently defensive character must all be combined with a determined effort by every individual to give socialism a reliable military shield and a universal readiness to repel any and all aggression. We want to and must emphasize the qualitative factors of our military readiness even more; this means a steadfast political attitude and military competency down to the level of cooperating with "the regiment next door."

Thus, it is good and reassuring if—as shown by the constant rapid-fire activity of our teletype—our army personnel, border guards and civilian employees have drawn the following conclusion from the events of 23 and 30 January 1989: More important than ever are

great accomplishments in training; while in the ready-alert system and in the combat and border services we need comprehensive intensification of military life; deliberate military discipline, and consistent and imaginative observance of regulations and orders. The act of every individual gains even greater significance.

And now another thought: Since we are currently resolutely preparing for the local elections on 7 May, let us remember four sentences articulated by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Egon Krenz on 2 February at the meeting of the Berlin collective of party activists: "The defense of our joint accomplishments is a matter of honor for every citizen. Here, however, he can meet this obligation with the certain knowledge that military service under socialism means unrelenting service for peace, which we want to assure before weapons are allowed to speak. Voting decisions in the GDR are decisions for peace. He, who votes for the candidates of the National Front is also supporting the joint struggle for a safe world."

Signals Commander on New Equipment
23000150 East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 2, 1989 pp 58-61

[Interview with Lt Gen Walter Paduch, chief, Signals Administration of the National People's Army: "Exemplary Mastery of Modern Communications and Flight Safety Equipment—A Pledge for Effective and Stable Troop Command"; date and place not given]

[Text]

MILITAERTECHNIK: Comrade lieutenant general, the combat mission of the signals and flight safety troops is to provide secure and constant communications connections at any time. Under conditions involving the use of modern key technologies, new possibilities arise in this regard. Shorter reaction times are required, extensive safety guarantee tasks must be solved. This is a qualitatively new challenge for the communications system, primarily impacting on communications personnel. How are members of the military service and civilian employees to be prepared for this challenge? How can they contribute toward fulfilling these requirements?

Lt Gen Paduch: In discussing this problem, permit me to begin with the assured knowledge that the scientific-technical revolution is having a systematic and increasing impact upon all social areas. In terms of the results of these ongoing changes affecting all sides of man's life activity, his qualifications, education, and attitudes, his sense of values and free-time requirements, this naturally also fully applies to members of the armed forces and civilian employees of the signals and flight safety troops.

Consequently, there is an ever greater need for continuity and consistency in dealing with the given as well as the anticipated effects of this process or, as you formulated your question, dealing with the new requirements levied upon the signal system and, above all, on the individuals integrated in this system. According to our experiences, this becomes most successful wherever the necessity and the value of the inseparable unity between political-moral and psychological, specialized, as well as physical training and the need for hardening signals personnel, has been recognized in advance and is consciously realized in practical education and training activities.

In principle, we take into account that the members of our armed forces have grown up in a socialist society, were raised in it, and educated in it. They thus have favorable prerequisites at their disposal. Such a potential must be utilized from the start through the imparting of modern and demanding tasks. Clever command activity can make a substantial contribution toward challenging members of the armed forces and civilian employees in a goal-oriented manner and toward promoting their initiatives.

This is the sense in which my challenge to solve scientific-technical tasks within the framework of the innovator movement and the MMM [Masters of Tomorrow] movement is to be seen. In this challenge, the soldiers, noncommissioned officers, warrant officers, officers, and civilian employees of the signals and flight safety troops are called upon to contribute to a higher degree of efficiency pertaining to combat training. Proposed solutions which would render combat training more intensive, as well as the evaluation of training results and the evaluation of results of socialist competition through the use of microcomputers, are called for.

Those entitled to participate are innovator and MMM collectives, including young innovator and young researcher collectives of the signals and flight safety troops. By 1 June 1989, appropriate solution proposals containing creative and innovative elements, which result in high military and economic benefits, are to be submitted to me. A group of experts will process the submitted solutions in accordance with the innovator and MMM regulations. Moreover, the best of the solutions will qualify for bonus payments.

In solving the tasks confronting us, we must devote appropriate attention to the fact that the pace of economic-technical progress can, among others, also sometimes lead to thoroughly differentiated and occasionally also contradictory effects, even in the military signals field. Inevitably, several generations of signals equipment are in place. This equipment was developed and fabricated on the basis of whatever technological and modular basis was available in that particular developmental phase. The simultaneous existence and use of, for example, signals equipment having discrete modular

elements, alongside equipment based on highly integrated circuits, including computer-controlled switching, control, and tuning processes, must be taken into account at all times. This existence must be considered as a factor in training, in the establishment, operation, and use of signals connections, in the application of signals equipment, as well as in terms of universal security.

Part of this dynamic development—and the key technologies of microelectronics with its virtually unlimited possibilities virtually challenges us to do so—includes a movement toward achieving a still closer connection between older generation equipment and installations and rationalization solutions on a most modern technical basis in all areas I have mentioned. In this regard, I am thinking primarily of the broad field of action which is opening up for innovators in this regard.

MILITAERTECHNIK: On the basis of growing and more complicated performance characteristics, modern signals and flight safety equipment levies higher requirements upon signals personnel and the end users. How can training make a still better contribution toward the mastery of this complicated equipment?

Lt Gen Paduch: Scientific-technical progress and primarily the stormy development of electronics makes possible the fabrication of signals equipment having substantially higher performance characteristics and a sharply reduced volume, less mass, as well as having lower energy requirements. Simultaneously, operations required in the establishment and conduct of signals connections are being automated in individual pieces of equipment as well as in complex equipment sets. The application of automation, primarily pertaining to line control and line-regulating equipment, is necessary, on the one hand, to be able to take into account one source of error—man—with his differing qualifications, his susceptible psychological conduct, his sometimes limited capabilities and to be able to gradually eliminate those errors resulting from human characteristics. On the other hand, we must be able to better deal with the rapidly growing information requirements through the use of more exact, more rapid, and more secure information transmission.

With the decline of manual activity in the establishment, maintenance, and conduct of signals connections, however, the requirements for mental creative activity on the part of signals troops as well as operating personnel are growing. These individuals are now required to engage in control and testing activities on a priority basis.

This requires the following of them: a knowledge of the electrical and electronic principles involved in the processes of the equipment or equipment set, skills in the proper use of instrument measuring equipment as well as troop-organic measuring gear (also for the calibration of

communications channels), abilities to recognize occurring irregularities and errors, required knowledge to limit errors and eliminate simple errors, as well as knowledge and maintenance of technical security provisions.

Such requirements place high demands on the combat training of signal troops, upon the training of team leaders and platoon commanders, as well as upon maintenance personnel. Added to this is the fact that some "trade craft" skills (such as listening to and transmitting Morse code, teletyping) must be taken into account.

In consideration of the substance-time problem which is becoming a little more critical even in the armed forces, the total training must be rationalized, must become more intensive and more efficient, as well as more comprehensive with respect to its organization. This particularly means that training methods must be consistently improved and intensive comprehensive training must be implemented. Superiors must be enabled to become trainers not only while attending training facilities, but also while on duty with the troops. In this regard, it is desirable that efficient training devices, primarily trainers and simulators, be used. Technical development also results in involving the operational user (commanders, staff officers) more closely with command and signals equipment. These officers are to receive stronger training involving the correct use of the equipment (mostly terminal equipment and peripheral equipment), which they must operate themselves, and are to be trained in such a manner that they acquire the necessary knowledge and skills involved in the establishment and operation of command connections. Even though the operating requirements are showing a declining tendency, all exercises, staff duty training, and primarily training and continuing education conducted by training facilities is to be used in a more sensible manner than heretofore. In this regard, the leading signals officers must become initiators and slavedrivers.

The substance-time prob'em referred to above was also the point of departure for my challenge to members of the armed forces and civilian employees of the signals and flight safety troops, based on Directive No 04/86 of the minister of national defense. The emphasis is the requirement to shape the planning, organization, and security of combat training in unison with political education in such a way as to guarantee a high degree of efficiency and quality for every training hour. That is why, a collective struggle for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the required goals and standards must be constantly conducted. After all, the goal is to fulfill the principal requirements of the various training programs even in the face of objectively qualified interruptions and breakdowns.

MILITAERTECHNIK: Comrade lieutenant general, you have just referred to the necessity to have efficient training devices, primarily trainers and simulators. Would you please mention some examples of such training devices and their applications?

Lt Gen Paduch: For purposes of improving our training methods, various types of rational training devices were made available to us by our brothers-in-arms, particularly by the Soviet Army. The most recent example involves the "trainer" methodological cards mentioned in issue No 2, 1988. The first experiences involving these cards indicate that their use can result in perceptible savings of training time and, at the same time, impart more stable skills in the servicing and utilization of signals equipment.

To increase the efficiency of signals training, as well as for military-economic reasons, trainers and simulators were developed and are being developed in the signals and flight safety troop components and are being used jointly with examiner equipment, as well as with other rationally configured training devices.

Such simulators and trainers are primarily used in place of expensive complex equipment, which is mostly available only in small numbers, in place of equipment having high requirements for switching, testing, and measuring of communications channels, as well as in reproducing command-staff vehicles and combined equipment sets with limited space requirements. Parallel with these developments, signals training centrals were created. Equipped with original equipment, as well as the above-named simulators and trainers, they make it possible to simulate the basic elements of a mobile signals central as well as the operation within that central and to provide training in the collaboration involved in terrain-deployed communications centrals.

A great deal of initiative exists among the signals and flight safety troops with respect to the rationalization of communications services. Also based on innovator performance, two generations of radio consoles (FuP-10/25 and FP-12/24) have already been created, as has one teletype console (FP-20), as well as a Model MG-80 automatic Morse code transmitter. Currently, microelectronics is experiencing a strong influx in the newly developed operations trainer (BETRA), in the radio-teletype trainer (FFT-88), as well as in the future development of the equipment trainer (GETRA). The above devices will determine the profile of the training basis for troop components and training facilities for communications services and for equipment training most extensively in the 1990's.

MILITAERTECHNIK: The increasing application of microelectronic components in communications equipment also leads to new requirements in the areas of maintenance and repair of generally very expensive communications gear. New and partially unusual methods and technologies are required. Surely, the initiatives, knowledge, and abilities of innovators and inventors play a significant role in this regard.

Lt Gen Paduch: The application of microelectronics in communications equipment is literally increasing by leaps and bounds, something which will become more

palpable in the foreseeable future. The equipment, which is produced in accordance with modern technologies, is characterized, among others, by such features as digital signal preparation and transmission, a multiplicity of functional effects occurring in a minimum of space, maximum accuracy and stability of operating parameters, integrated self-testing and diagnostics, as well as increased operating comfort. We would do a disservice to the engineers and other employees in the communications electronics industry if we did not recognize the fact that the maintenance requirements for this kind of equipment has substantially declined in comparison with older generations of equipment.

But, on the one hand, the previously referred to generations problem, the relatively long coexistence of older and the newest equipment, compels us, now as before, to devote the maximum attention to maintenance as the totality of all technical, technological, and organizational measures designed to delay wear and tear on the equipment and to facilitate the technical readiness of our gear at any time. Our experiences clearly indicate that technical maintenance, carried out with responsibility, strongly limits the number of necessary unplanned repair operations.

On the other hand, new challenges have arisen for us with the advent of microelectronics. To be able to realize demanding equipment operation accompanied by simpler and more secure serviceability generally requires a substantial component and switching technology inventory, that is to say, a high number of electronic components installed in the minimum amount of space. It is important that this be taken into account in the event of a technical failure on the part of repair specialist forces. Moreover, the necessary testing and measuring equipment for diagnostics, as well as the tools necessary for the exchange of components can no longer be readily compared with traditional devices and are, generally more relatively expensive. Handling them is unthinkable without solid specialist training.

Here, a new organizational form for repair services, based on labor-sharing, becomes of significance. This pertains particularly to the limitation of errors through to the circuit boards and the exchange of such boards for correctly functioning ones at the lower user level, as well as more extensive diagnostics through to the switching circuit or the component, accomplished in appropriately equipped workshops, with subsequent repairs being accomplished in these shops or at customer service facilities of the manufacturer. As far as the use of microcomputer equipment in repair work involved in communications equipment is concerned, it lies precisely in the main direction of the efforts and activities aimed at rationalizing matters in this area. Existing results are encouraging and the majority of the operations involved are being coordinated centrally with the goal of achieving broad application and of concentrating forces.

Some experienced repair forces are currently working on an expert system designed to process available knowledge. It is supposed to help arrive at an error substantially more rapidly than heretofore through a dialogue with the computer and to eliminate it. A software control center for computer-assisted methods of diagnosis and repair will support all of this from the organizational side.

Despite all this regard for the application of computer-supported methods, however, it is man with his knowledge, experiences, capabilities, and skills who remains as the focal point. Rapid technical development, thus, compels us to keep pace in training, to bring training repeatedly to the same level as that achieved by scientific-technical development, so that equipment does not govern man, but rather the other way around. Mastery of modern technologies by man requires us all to exhibit additional qualifications, requires an increase in the creative content of our work, and requires the ability to oversee complex processes, to evaluate them, and to actively participate in their creation.

Many innovators and inventors among the signals and flight safety troops have already correctly understood this requirement: they participated with 57 exhibits in the ZNA-88 central innovator exposition, which was open to the public. On behalf of many entries, I would like to mention such outstanding solutions as the diagnostics trainer for radio equipment, developed by the youth innovator collective of Lieutenant Colonel Muchlberg, or the computer-controlled scale calibrator for efficient repair of older models of radio transmitter/receivers, developed by the innovator collective of Major Werner.

The palette of possible additional initiatives in innovator and inventor work is broad. I would like to orient these efforts toward solutions which tend to rationalize the expensive and frequently repetitive work involved in maintenance, diagnostics, error searches, and repair. I include in this both the optimum utilization of the customary measuring instrument inventory for the creation of measuring and testing work sites based on specific models, as well as the utilization of computers to direct complex testing and measuring processes.

MILITAERTECHNIK: Good service, working, and living conditions for members of the armed forces and civilian employees in your area of responsibility are not insignificant prerequisites for still higher performance. What results are there in this regard in the signals and flight safety troops?

Lt Gen Paduch: There is no doubt that the results in this area directly stimulate the will to work, the joy of working, and, finally, the readiness to perform.

Consequently, we have always paid great attention to such questions as the reconstruction and modernization of barracks and the renovation of training facilities, as

well as housing for our professional cadres. Much has been accomplished in this respect even though it is not possible to fully satisfy demand in this regard. I would particularly like to point out troop self-performance, as a result of which, for example, child care facilities and sales facilities for daily necessities were created in a housing complex of our army members and civilian employees.

Heavy physical labor in warehousing has been substantially done away with, thanks to modern warehousing facilities.

I also consider the results in the service environment and in living conditions to include possibilities for meaningful free-time usage. Thus, it is planned to establish cultural and sports facilities at various locations. We place a great value on meaningful technical activities. These include the work of our communications soldiers in amateur radio club stations of the National People's Army and of the Border Guard of the GDR, which enjoys great approval. Apart from the opportunity of participating in the hobby of amateur radio, our communications soldiers contribute their interests in new technical solutions, including in the use of microelectronics, as well as their capabilities and skills in developing their club station and in increasing the technical performance capabilities of their station into play.

Similar opportunities exist in circles involved in radio sports, radio direction-finding sports, or in our computer circles which already exist wherever the required equipment is available.

Incidentally, innovator and inventor spirit is also wanted particularly in the area of service, working, and living conditions.

MILITAERTECHNIK: Comrade lieutenant general, in conclusion of our conversation, we are interested in a question which, in our opinion, will continue to have great significance. The cooperation between the armies of the Warsaw Pact in the coalition involved in securing peace and defending socialism will be of high value in the future as well. What special requirements accrue to the communications troops of the NVA [National People's Army] as a result?

Lt Gen Paduch: Close comradeship-in-arms with the socialist fraternal armies, particularly with the communications troops of the Group of Soviet Forces stationed on GDR territory forms a decisive condition for the successful fulfillment of the combat mission of the communications and flight safety elements of the NVA. In addition to all that unites us in principle in securing peace within the socialist defense coalition, we will never forget that to organize, conduct, and secure communications connections is something that can only be understood and accomplished as a comradely joint project. Our commanders and staff officers, who, for the most part, are graduates of Soviet military academies, have

been educated in this sense. They are the ones who permit brotherhood-in-arms to be a practical reality on a virtual day-to-day basis together with the combat collectives at all levels of leadership and among the troops during joint training exercises and performance comparisons in combat training, in becoming familiar with new types of equipment, in the exchange of experiences on the most efficient forms of combat training or in repair and maintenance operations.

It has become a tradition at the Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow for joint collectives of rationalizers from Soviet troop elements and innovators from the signals and flight safety troops of the NVA to introduce their key exhibits. Also, at the ZNA-88 exhibition, a jointly developed and tested new antenna system, a trainer, as well as measuring and testing complexes for security tasks, were shown.

The above-named activities and cooperation at the most varied levels, joint work at and within the communications channel naturally pose demands on the mastery of the Russian language. Here, one cannot get by without learning and practical training.

Our experiences prove that live contacts between communications soldiers and the neighboring regiment with the communications equipment entrusted to them to build more or less integrated communications systems turns out to be the best teacher. Mixed crews made up of communications soldiers of the NVA and of the Soviet Army have particularly proven themselves in joint training exercises involving the deployment and operation of communications systems. Apart from being useful with respect to verbal communication, this is also of use with respect to many a reference or trick involved in the optimum utilization of the technical possibilities inherent in the equipment set being used.

Training exercises involving communications contacts of an "international" character are also practiced—in other words, communications in joint radio nets, in "mixed" directional radio and cable lines, to mention only a few. The essentially uniform nature of available technical equipment is advantageous in this regard. In such joint projects, communications troops of all participants perform in an outstanding manner. This is also a reflection of the mature sense of responsibility for the common effort. The solution of joint missions, the joint mastery of difficulties, contribute to the strengthening of the degree of confidence regarding the class brother and the brother-in-arms.

To prepare communications soldiers for the successful fulfillment of combat missions is our contribution toward converting the class mission of the armed forces into reality. Toward this end, I wish all of the members of the signals and flight safety troops much success.

MILITAERTECHNIK: Comrade lieutenant general, MILITAERTECHNIK thanks you for your comprehensive and guiding statements and wishes you much continued creative strength in your responsible work.

POLAND

Army Chaplain Chief on Garrison Parishes, Social-Spiritual Duties

26000385b Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish
18-19 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Father Florian Klewiado, colonel, chief of Chaplain Services, Polish Army, by Major Stefan Wawrzyniak; "Tradition and History Are Our Allies"; date and place not given]

[Text] [ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] It is not easy to meet with the chief chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces. We have changed the time of our conversation several times.

[Klewiado] For a simple reason. Along with responsibilities entailed by my service as a priest, I also have other responsibilities. I am also an administrator who maintains continuous contacts with the most remote corners of our country. Therefore, there are various documents, daily correspondence, telephone conversations, and also travel. Besides, as any simple mortal I happen to be physically indisposed at times.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] In the civilian community, the military pastoral service is little known. In many circles a priest in uniform still causes much surprise, and in some cases even suspicion!

[Klewiado] Yes, at times it happens so, and this does not at all surprise us. We are not particularly visible on a day-to-day basis as representatives of what is certainly a peculiar service. I believe this is the reason for this lack of information. Fortunately, however, we have a reliable ally in this matter: history and tradition. After all, military pastoral work has, in keeping with its mission, always accompanied the Polish soldier. It is no different at this time, in the Polish Armed Forces, from the beginning of their existence.

The late Father Col Wilhelm Kubsz, chaplain of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko 1st Infantry Division, participant of the battle of Lenino, the creator of foundations of the military pastoral service in the People's Polish Armed Forces, and subsequently a chief chaplain, has written a beautiful chapter in the history of military pastoral service.

Father Col Dr Julian Humenski, the creator of many innovative forms of our operations who discharged the responsibilities of the chief chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces for almost a quarter of a century has made a tremendous contribution to developing the cadre of military chaplains. On his initiative, the organization of

patriotic and religious celebrations, inspection of garrison parishes, and training briefings were introduced to which priests-professors of Catholic higher schools have been, and are, invited.

I will also stress in this instance the activities and social involvement of Father Col Jan Mrugacz, a frontline chaplain and a deputy chief chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces. All of this is but a small segment of the last 45 years of pastoral work in the military which, however, clearly testifies to the fact that chaplains have and are continuing to discharge their pastoral duties in our armed forces.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] Where do they come from? What are the procedures for enlisting them in career military service?

[Klewiado] Ministry to the military does not have its own theological seminary. Our accordingly modest cadres are reinforced by diocesan priests and members of monastic orders. The desire to dedicate oneself to ministry in the army is the decisive factor. A candidate approaches the Office of the Chief Chaplain of the Polish Armed Services and files a petition, and is subsequently introduced to the military authorities provided he has previously secured the consent of the bishop ordinary of the diocese from which he comes, or, in the case of a member of an order, from his superior in the order or superior of the congregation to which he belongs. Upon acceptance, he is appointed reserve captain, and practices as an assistant chaplain.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] For how long?

[Klewiado] I cannot give an unambiguous answer. It varies due to the limited number of positions. We have only 35 of them, four at the chief chaplain's office, and 31 in the field, or exactly as many as we have garrison churches.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] Since we are on the topic of church buildings...?

[Klewiado] They are the property of the Ministry of National Defense. Therefore, all economic matters, repairs and maintenance are the responsibility of military authorities, more precisely, the Quartermaster General's Office of the Polish Armed Forces which covers all outlays entailed with the operation of pastoral services. These are quite considerable outlays. However, I may also stress with satisfaction that the condition of our church buildings is very good. There are no matters which have been neglected. A dozen or so structures are now being renovated, and this is not work forced on us by some sudden needs, but rather typical scheduled maintenance. Certainly, we also do more serious projects which, however, are planned earlier and adequately prepared for. I mean the expansion of the church in Legionowo, the construction of a presbytery and renovation of the temple in Poznan, in Radom, Rzeszow, and

Jelenia Gora, and, finally, the garrison church and presbytery in Krakow—structures which, as is known, are zero-class monuments. As I have already mentioned, these are considerable outlays entirely covered by the armed forces. Garrison churches which have parishes are an exception. There, the believers also contribute to the expenses. Therefore, unlike a garrison priest, a parish priest has many more responsibilities both church-related, organizational, and financial, managerial.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] A garrison priest, a parish priest?

[Klewiado] These are not identical definitions. A military chaplain whose church does not have a parish is a garrison chaplain. In places where the military authorities have consented to organizing a parish—naturally, at the request of the bishop concerned—he is also, at the same time, a parish priest. Only in two cases do we have dualism, i.e., different priests discharge these responsibilities. This is the case in Lodz and Sopot.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] As the chief chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces you maintain continuous contacts with church authorities, and conduct working talks with the bishops. What are their subjects?

[Klewiado] Primarily the church jurisdiction delegated to the chaplains reporting to me by proper bishops, that is, the ordinaries of the dioceses in whose territory the military chaplains work. Every garrison priest must have such a jurisdiction, hence my continuous contact with individual bishops' curias is necessary. I also pay much attention in these talks to the proper operation of parishes existing at the garrison churches. To be sure, such matters are regulated by agreements signed by the chief chaplain's office and the curias. However, as actually happens, they frequently require detailed settlements involving mainly the scope of responsibilities of the bishop's curia, and the military chaplain's office. These are not difficult or troublesome talks, but nonetheless they are needed, as they eliminate any insinuation.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] The People's Polish Armed Forces are a reflection of society. Believers, including those of the Roman Catholic denomination, account for a substantial segment of soldiers. How do the chaplains fulfill their pastoral duty with regard to this segment of the military community?

[Klewiado] Ministry to the armed forces is to serve the soldier-believers, and to make practicing religion as easy as it can for them. I mean in this instance primarily going to mass or the Easter confession. This is done on a volunteer basis with the consent of superiors. By "the consent of superiors" I mean that a pass is given to a subordinate in order to go to church. The way in which it is used is another, personal matter of the person in question, but this opportunity is open to every soldier; it is guaranteed by our constitution, and unit commanders

as well, and any soldier may take advantage of it provided he so wishes. Let us add that the choice of worldview is free also for career personnel. After all, garrison churches also serve military families. As I have already said, it is the sphere of their personal decision.

As a chief chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces I may state that the climate for such matters in the army is favorable. I believe it is worthwhile to add here that due to our effort and the good will of the military authorities, the Easter confession for soldiers in basic military service has been an organized event for many years now. Every year, the Office of the Chief Chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces approaches the minister of defense about this matter, and he takes a favorable stand on our proposals for the timing and manner of hearing confessions. Subsequently, jointly made arrangements reach commanders of units and military institutions in the form of service instructions, and they inform their subordinates of this, and grant passes to those who want them.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] Is this the case in all localities where military units are stationed?

[Klewiado] Certainly, also in places where there are no garrison churches, or they are too far away. After all, the garrison priest is obligated to arrange for confessions at a church situated as closely as possible to the unit. He may also enlist the help of local priests.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] The operations of the Office of the Chief Chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces are not restricted to purely pastoral activities. You also go outside the army, give of yourselves socially, and make your presence known in virtually all spheres of life in our country.

[Klewiado] This has always been the case, and I will admit in all sincerity that in this matter we, as an integral part of the armed forces, have cause for pride and satisfaction. Suffice it to say that the organization and undertones of our patriotic and religious celebrations are aimed at perpetuating the memory of events and facts in the life of our people. For example, the last year was very rich [in events]; it was the year of the 45th anniversary of the People's Polish Armed Forces, as well as our anniversary. Therefore, I will at the very least mention the most important events in which we took part. In March, we visited Moscow and took part in the celebration of the millennium of the baptism of Russia; within this period, a meeting and conversations of a group of cardinals of the Roman Catholic church with the Primate of Poland Jozef Cardinal Glemp were held, and, finally, there was a pilgrimage to the Soviet Union, to places sanctified with the blood of Polish soldiers. We will remember until the end of our lives the patriotic-religious celebrations held at Lenino and Katyn. This was not all; there was also Bydgoszcz, the Porytowe Heights, the ceremony in Lublin on the occasion of the Day of the Polish Armed Forces. The patriotic-religious ceremony celebrated on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of gaining independence received much attention

from society. I am recalling these facts in order to show how the military pastoral work has been favored by the military and state authorities. I believe that this is the fitting time and place to offer words of our gratitude to them.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] As I have learned, this year will also be rich in events.

[Klewiado] This is a very important, lofty year called by the PRON National Council the "Year of the Poles." We will organize many political-religious celebrations within the framework of commemorating the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II and the 45th anniversary of two other great events: the battle of Monte Cassino and the Warsaw Uprising. In this instance as well, I am forced to restrict myself to the most important undertakings. A delegation of military chaplains intends to visit Italy in order to place wreaths there at the cemeteries of Polish soldiers, and say concelebrated holy mass in the field. They took a different route to the motherland, but, after all, they sacrificed their lives for the same motherland. On the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising we will organize, at our garrison church, a patriotic-religious celebration to which we want to invite all chaplains, and veteran chaplains, Warsaw rebels, representatives of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy], and other combat veterans. Subsequently, it is the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, the [defense of] Westerplatte. We expect to say concelebrated holy mass there for the intention of the motherland and those who fell defending it.

There are many undertakings and celebrations in our intended plan which we are thinking about right now. As I have said, we remember about Lenino and Katyn. We hope that this year as well a delegation of chaplains will go there in order to honor the memory of the dead through ardent prayers.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] Looking at the program of activities of the Office of the Chief Chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces I submit that this is not just wishful thinking.

[Klewiado] Our intended plan for this year has been accepted by military authorities, and will definitely be implemented. Only details have to be coordinated with which, however, we have not had problems thus far. I repeat that the environment is good which prompts me to observe that the armed forces take a favorable view of problems concerning my community. Perhaps my personal desires will also be fulfilled. I am dreaming about new positions which would make it possible to accept new candidate priests, and primarily about the confirmation of the draft legal statute on military pastoral work in Poland.

[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] Thank you for the interview.

ALBANIA

Participants at Economic Cooperation Symposium Interviewed

21000011 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian
16 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Fatos Nano, senior scientific collaborator, and Gramoz Pashko, candidate of economic science, by Genc Kondi at scientific symposium held in Athens on 19-20 Dec 88: "Widening of Economic Cooperation Responds to the Possibilities and Interests of Balkan Countries"; first paragraph is BASHKIMI introduction]

[Text] On 19-20 December 1988, a scientific symposium was held in Athens on "Inter-Balkan Economic Cooperation," organized by the Economic Chamber of Greece. There was participation by scholars, businessmen, and officials of various state and social bodies from all the Balkan countries. A foreign correspondent from our newspaper, Genc Kondi, spoke with two of our scholars who were present at this scientific meeting: Fatos Nano, senior scientific collaborator, and Gramoz Pashko, candidate of economic science, with whom the following discussion occurred:

[BASHKIMI] What were the objectives of this symposium and some of the major problems that were discussed?

[Speaker not identified] At the initiative of the Economic Chamber of Greece, a social body connected with the Ministry of National Economy, the aim was to establish and develop scientific contacts among economics scholars from the Balkan countries in order to discuss ideas regarding the status and possibilities of, as well as prospects for, widening economic, trade, production, and technical and scientific cooperative relations in the peninsula, on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Among the objectives of the symposium were: a discussion of the need to overcome the low level of current relations, a determination of the major areas and mechanisms for expanding Balkan economic relations, and the aim that economic thought should play a role in the solutions that will be given to these problems by political representatives and businessmen from the respective countries.

Concrete steps were made to determine the possibilities that exist in the economies of the countries of the peninsula, and to expand further relations and exchanges to mutual advantage within a regional framework, while better harmonizing the latter with economic links outside the region which today constitutes the Balkan countries. The object of the discussions was also to find suitable forms to make all the parties more interested in greater inclusion of economic and financial sources in regional cooperation, as well as the gradual elimination of obstacles and facilitating customs and trade procedures to stimulate inter-Balkan economic exchanges.

[BASHKIMI] Comrade Gramoz, what suggestions were made by our scholars at this symposium and how was the participation of our country in these relations of Balkan economic cooperation evaluated?

[Gramoz] In the two reports which we gave, we tried to present scientific analyses and arguments regarding the need for expanding relations of Balkan economic cooperation as one of the most realistic alternatives for overcoming many problems and negative influences which come from other markets in the economies of the peninsula, in order to guarantee a more lasting economic growth in our countries. This is based on the observing of many complementary elements which exist in the economic structures of the Balkan countries. On this basis, we also suggested a range of possibilities and guidelines for widening regional economic cooperation in areas such as energy, more rapid activation of the great resources of the region by means of technological exchanges to mutual advantage, cooperative planning and production of machinery and equipment, increase in production of food and consumer goods in the region, etc.

At the conclusion of the symposium, an evaluation was made to the effect that Albania appears to be the country with the most pronounced orientation to foreign trade with neighboring Balkan countries and that, in much of its trade, its economy is characterized by a dynamic development which permits further expansion of cooperation with the other Balkan partners. At the same time, there was realistic consideration of Albania's view that in economic, trade, and payment relations, there are many appropriate forms which have still not fully exhibited their effects on regional economic cooperation.

[BASHKIMI] Comrade Fatos, what were some of the conclusions of this scientific meeting of an inter-Balkan nature?

[Fatos] The symposium on "Inter-Balkan Economic Cooperation," as evaluated by the participants, the organizers, and by the Greek press, on the whole fulfilled its stated objectives by creating concrete premises for further stimulation of the development of these relations to the advantage of the Balkan countries and peoples. There was crystallization of many useful ideas and suggestions for the state bodies and businessmen of the countries of the peninsula. Many of the participants viewed Balkan economic cooperation as an active process which has a role and an influence in further reduction of tension in the region. The conviction was expressed particularly that this cooperation will be further stimulated and supported by all parties, within the framework of future meetings of Balkan states, such as the Tirana meeting which begins on 18 January 1989, the one in Ankara in March, etc.

[BASHKIMI] What was the contribution of the Economic Chamber of Greece to this meeting, Comrade Gramoz?

[Gramoz] At the conclusion of the symposium, the contribution of all the participants to the achievement of the specified objectives was evaluated. But it must be emphasized that a special role was played in the success of this meeting by the attention and contribution of the colleagues and directors of the Economic Chamber of Greece, as well as by the attention shown by the authorities of this country to problems of Balkan cooperation. This found expression in the speech by J. Papantoniou, deputy minister of national economy, as well as in the message of greetings sent to the participants and organizers of the symposium by K. Papulias, the foreign minister. The success of the work of the symposium was due in a special way to the personal contribution of Dr Petros Duskos, president of the Economic Chamber of Greece, and George Sklalonis, deputy president and adviser to the Ministry of Education.

Assignment of Urban Workers To Remote Areas Examined

21000012 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
4 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Halil Lalaj: "A Decision on the Way to Resolution—How To Work With Cadres Returning From and Assigned To the Northeast Zones"]

[Text] On 20 and 21 December, two articles were published in ZERI I POPULLIT discussing what has been done to publicize the 5 December decision of the party's Central Committee Secretariat, "Regarding specialists who complete secondary school and are sent to work in the northeast zone." According to two published articles, but especially, according to many other reports available to the editors, this decision has been received with great pleasure and enthusiasm by the cadres who work in these areas, by students and their families, and by everyone else.

But what measures have been taken for the timely implementation of this decision by the ministries and other state organs, according to their appropriate duties? It is a fact that since the time when Comrade Ramiz Alia, at the plenum of the party committee of the Vlore District, indicated the need to correct certain shortcomings in the mechanism of distribution, movement, and treatment of cadres, efforts have been made to study these problems and discussions have been held on the most effective ways to resolve problems. Yet the tasks contained in the resolution of the party's Central Committee Secretariat involve a great deal of additional work for the ministries and other central institutions, for the secondary schools, for the districts that send cadres to the north, and for the northern districts themselves. Within this framework, in order to learn about this problem, we had several discussions.

This is what we were told by Comrade Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission.

"I think that this decision, above all, should be seen as another way of helping the northeast zone. Aside from this view, we cannot determine precise tasks as a ministry. Accounts—arithmetic, so to speak—constitute one aspect (and they must be made), but there are also many other components in the content of the work. If the party says that a young man who has just completed school should spend not more than five years in the north, while most girls should spend three or four years there, this means that a young cadre should be intellectually prepared to serve with more devotion during this time. With this context, it is surely opportune to view our tasks individually. We have done and are doing something. Several studies were made during 1988. It appears to us that despite all the improvements, some districts have greater numbers of cadres for those specialties where the needs are fewer. For example, must Tirana train so many agronomists when it is well known that agriculture in Tirana occupies a modest place in comparison with other districts of the country? This may also be said of some teaching specialties for geology, and several other fields. If this has been justified until now, it is a simple fact that secondary education in the capital, as well as in several other districts, has been strengthened further, and now the extent of secondary education has become widespread; even the northeast zone is above the average of the republic. Therefore, the times themselves suggest other changes. At the moment, we have in hand a study regarding the training of cadres in the next 5-year plan and regarding needs up to the year 2000. The content of the decision eases our work in the study we spoke of, since we do not have to worry that a problem which is being solved today will present difficulties tomorrow."

Current attention to the proportional aspect of training cadres will bear its first fruit in four or five years. But with this decision, the party is looking ahead to ways of solving problems later. The recommendation made to the chairman of the Council of Ministers regarding simplifying the norms of workloads of teachers and the number of students in classes for the city of Tirana and several other districts is a big improvement. Some 900 cadres are ready to move during the next two years from the north to the districts from which they come. Some 37 percent of them will return to Tirana and Korce, or to districts bordering these. Most of these are teachers. We cannot go into detail regarding other aspects of the problem. What Comrade Ramiz Alia said in Vlore about the fact that these measures should eliminate a good deal of meddling, as well as certain social problems, we have already felt in this year's job appointments. The youth organizations in secondary schools discussed the appointments with great maturity. There has thus been less knocking at the doors of ministries. Now another blow is given to the decisions based on friendship, to meddling, etc.

An Idea That Stimulates University Youth

We also talked about these matters with Prof Skender Gjinushi, minister of education:

"Our tasks are numerous. Both present ones as well as future ones. First and foremost, certainly, is the training of cadres. The improvements that will be made will permit the needs of the north to be satisfied in a consistently better manner with the cadres of the country.

"But there is no less preoccupation with confronting the tasks of the current year. As is well known, in the city of Tirana there are many cadres, especially in education, waiting for work in the city. (But in Tirana District there are many teachers without appropriate education.) Aside from this, more cadres will return this year and next from the north. Well, in resolving this situation, great help is given by the idea of reducing the teaching load of teachers and the number of students in a class, an idea on which there are also studies. By implementing these measures, about 200 openings will occur in educational work. Understandably, the executive committee of this district must make more efforts than heretofore with respect to working conditions and transport of cadres assigned to villages."

Of more interest to us than this way of solving problems was the opinion expressed in print by a student of foreign languages to the effect that all students who complete secondary school should not remain in Tirana. This opinion has a universal value. The more distinguished may return without waiting to complete five years, but excessive appointments of new graduates through ministries, to other institutions as well, are useless. This would mean that the opinion of this student could stimulate all young people in the university. In the meantime, this should be taken as a direct comment on the practices of the ministries up to now.

Possibilities and Reserves Must Be Found

Comrade Leandro Zoto, chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Tirana District also explained the measures being taken to resolve this problem.

"For Tirana, the problem is not simple. Almost 30 percent of the cadres outside Tirana serve in the northeast zone. More students graduate in Tirana than are required for its yearly needs. Other problems which are usual emerge along the way, especially automatic increases. And there are other difficulties.

"Nevertheless, reserves and possibilities exist. Now, particularly, we are studying these possibilities once more in coordination with the ministries. It must be said that every organizational measure is important in itself, but it cannot solve the problem entirely. I do not want to repeat what our comrades said, but we must not think that a single measure—reduction of teachers' work loads, for example—will absolutely resolve the problem of putting all the teachers to work in the city. Therefore,

now—as before—there must be workplaces in the villages, as well as in the districts close to Tirana. The observation that was made regarding more appropriate conditions, especially in transport, is a correct one.

"Efforts must be made to implement properly the tasks of the apparatus of the Executive Committee of Tirana. We say this because more than 40 percent of cadres are appointed to ministries and other central organs and institutions. Working attentively or inattentively on their part means benefitting or harming Tirana."

After These Conversations

Every possibility exists, therefore, for the implementation of tasks contained in the resolution of the party's Central Committee Secretariat. As the conversations have indicated, these must be made known (something that has been done and is being done), but they also must be utilized harmoniously. It seems to us that these possibilities are not always viewed properly, paving the way for mistaken practices. Let us take new appointments. Is it right that a person who has just completed school should be appointed directly to a ministry? This practice does not benefit work. A little more than a year ago, the ministries took 25 economists directly from school, when they could have taken them from the enterprises of Tirana. At the cadre directorate of the Council of Ministers, we learn that just this past year, 190 cadres were taken from school. Shouldn't these places be filled in greater part by comrades—men and women—who are in the north or in other districts? Secondly, there are cadres who remain at work even at retirement age. In the Academy of Sciences and the university alone, there are more than 80 such cadres. Not to mention extreme cases, among these there are many who do not and cannot satisfy the needs of society. In this case, it is time to tell that comrade: "We congratulate you on the contribution you have made, but there must now be another comrade here whom the state and our society have trained."

But these are not the only possibilities. Automatic increases in Tirana and in other cities are quite large. There are married women who come, cadres who are appointed to ministries or other institutions. Practical systematization with their family work is a separate problem. Cadres from the districts have come and will come to Tirana. Why this preference for bringing in administrators, teachers, and noncommissioned officers, when such people exist in Tirana? On the other hand, it is just as normal to make family transfers from Tirana to the districts. But all this stinginess in regard to these transfers is not right, and besides, even when they are made, the families of these transferees continue to live in Tirana. No matter how they are viewed, these practices have nothing good in them.

In conclusion, therefore, many possibilities exist. They must be utilized. Then the solutions will not be partial or temporary.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Poor Market Performance Suggests Needed Economic Reform

23000149 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German
10. 17 Mar 89

[Article by former GDR economist Harry Maier: "Playing the Piano with Boxing Gloves"; first paragraph supplied by DIL ZEIT]

[Text]

Professor Maier was one of the GDR's best-known economists. He now holds the chair for industrial economics and is dean of the business science faculty of the Nordische Universitaet Flensburg-Neumuenster.

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GDR enterprises get less and less for their products on world markets—a radical economic reform appears inevitable. Former GDR economist Harry Maier, who has been living in the Federal Republic since 1985, describes the economic prospects of the second German state in the age of perestroyka.

Trade between the two German states is stagnating. And this at a time when discussion about the prospects of German-German relations has been rekindled. Unfortunately, such debates all too often end in visionary hopes or resigned acceptance of existing conditions. It is high time to get these discussions to stand on their feet, not on the head. In German-German relations, also, the economic basis decides ultimately what can become possible in the political superstructure. After almost two decades of uninterrupted growth, trade between the two German states is declining. Between 1968 and 1985, the trade volume grew more than five-fold from 2.9 to 15.5 billion Marks; the average growth rate was 11 percent. By contrast, trade in 1986 decreased by 8 percent, in 1987 by 1.7 percent, and in 1988 by 2 to 3 percent.

Yet the political surroundings are better than ever. Evidently, however, good will alone is not enough; the structure and mechanism of intra-German trade need to be changed fundamentally so that it can function "as an important stabilizing element of overall relations," as it was expressed in the joint communique on the occasion of the visit of the chairman of the State Council, Erich Honecker, to the FRG in September 1987.

Without a doubt, the traditional structure of intra-German trade is most unusual for two highly developed industrial countries: Over more than three decades, deliveries have predominantly consisted in raw and basic materials. In 1985 for example, 59.7 percent of FRG purchases from the GDR, a country with few raw materials, were part of this category of merchandise.

This proportion changed somewhat only with the disintegration of oil prices since 1986. The share of mineral oil products in FRG purchases dropped from 22.1 percent (1985) to 13.6 percent (1987); the share of raw and basic materials overall dropped to 51.8 percent.

The GDR leadership, evidently unprepared for the falling oil prices, tried to increase the economy's export capacity by buying additional capital goods, primarily machines. Thus the share of capital goods in FRG deliveries rose from 18.8 percent (1985) to 36.4 percent (1987).

Paradoxically, the structural improvement called for by Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl caused trade to shrink. It is not difficult to pinpoint the cause: the sinking innovation level of GDR industrial goods. The higher the share of technology-intensive products in trade, the greater the difference between the prices obtained by each side. Because the GDR offers simpler products, it must deliver relatively more per unit of net product and thus approaches the limits of its capacity.

This makes it evident that the GDR could not keep pace with the innovation drive it had initiated at the beginning of the 1980's. While the FRG in 1970 attained proceeds per delivered machine 1.8 times higher than the GDR, in 1987 they were already 6 times as high. This means that the GDR in its most productive sector of industry, i.e., machine building, must use six times more resources in order to achieve the same earnings as the FRG.

The declining innovation level of GDR machine building in the 1970's resulted in its market shares in machine exports to Western industrial countries (OECD area) dropping from 3.9 percent (1973) to 0.9 percent (1986). By contrast, threshold countries such as Taiwan, Mexico, Hongkong, South Korea and Singapore managed to expand their position considerably. Taiwan's share of OECD machinery imports surpasses 20-fold that of the GDR, whose territory once was the world's center of machine building.

In all important product categories of machine building, since 1970 the ratio of earnings has improved drastically in favor of the FRG, from 1.5 times to 3.8 times (1987) for paper machinery, textile equipment and sewing machines; for pumps and construction machines the ratio deteriorated [sic] from 2.2 to 10.8, for the chemical industry and plant construction from 4.9 to 9.1. In 1975, the GDR still achieved 1.6 times the earnings of the FRG for agricultural machinery and food processing equipment. The picture changed radically in 1987: The FRG obtained almost 13 times the earnings of the GDR.

In the long run, even an aged leadership could not but become aware of the declining innovation power, the shrinking of once considerable market shares, and lower foreign currency earnings. But their countermeasures were characteristic of their command mentality and

resembled the attempt to play the piano with boxing gloves. Hence the SED Politburo decided in 1983 that the enterprises and combines must achieve an innovation rate of 30 to 40 percent annually in order to increase their competitiveness. In 1986 this instruction was incorporated in the directive of the 11th SED Party Congress for the 1986-1990 5-year plan. Up to then, the annual innovation rate was 3 percent; now it was suddenly to increase tenfold. While the range of industrial products in the GDR before the Politburo decision was renewed every 23 years, it was now to be renewed every 2 to 3 years, although even Western corporations such as Philips and Siemens managed it only every 7 or 8 years.

Of necessity, the consequence of such bureaucratic directives had to be the flight to small improvements and bogus innovations. It produced precisely what was supposed to be avoided, namely, a further decrease in the innovation level. For the combines as supply monopolists, the naive orders of the Politburo practically turned out to be a boon because, by pointing to marginal improvements, they were able to get price increases on the GDR domestic market for many products, without any problems.

It went no better with the attempt to increase the innovation level through greater industrial contract research by the Academy of Sciences and universities. Since enterprises and combines are judged by their plan fulfillment and not by their success on foreign markets, they try to avoid radical innovations at all costs. The higher the innovation level, the greater the risk of failures and hence, for plan fulfillment.

However, a process was strengthened thereby which is deeply rooted, i.e., the decades-long isolation of GDR science from the West. Since GDR researchers were prevented from participating in the discussions of the international scientific community, they could not absorb and respond to impulses emanating from there. This explains why the innovation pertinence of GDR research constantly decreased despite its quantitative expansion in the past two decades. Still, between 1970 and 1985, the number of people employed in research and development grew from 120,400 to 220,000, and expenditures rose by more than double during that period.

If one measures performance capability, however, by patent registrations on the most attractive technology markets such as the FRG, the United States and Japan, the performance decline becomes unmistakable. In 1960, the GDR was granted 6 times more patents in the FRG than in 1985. During that time, the GDR was passed in this field by countries such as Italy, the Soviet Union and Hungary. Compared to the Soviet Union, the GDR in 1965 had 32 times more patents registered in the FRG; in 1985, the USSR already had 4.5 times more patents granted.

The declining net product of GDR products on the world market disproves the claim by the SED leadership to have reacted in a timely and appropriate fashion to scientific-technical challenges. It points with particular pride to successes in developing and using microelectronics.

Certainly, it is reason for joy to have gained a lead in the production of storage chips compared to other socialist countries. But the growing gulf with the FRG shows that this lead is not enough by far to prevent a decline in competitiveness. Because internationally, the GDR continues to be three generations behind in storage chips.

It would be unfair to accuse the GDR leadership of not having recognized in time the significance of microelectronics. The efforts made were great, and expenditure was high. But the result is extremely modest and shows that the GDR, with its present planning and decision-making mechanisms, is doomed to lag 6 to 10 years behind developments in the utilization of high technologies.

According to Erich Honecker, the GDR since the mid-1970's has spent a total of more than 14 billion Marks for their own microelectronic base including the megabit storers. That amounts to about 35 percent of the GDR's industrial investments in one year. Overall, more than 120,000 scientists, engineers and workers are said to be involved in the production of microelectronics.

Without a doubt, GDR scientists and engineers have produced a notable achievement in this field. According to the report of the Central Administration for Statistics in the GDR, industrial manufacture of the 64 kilobit storage switching circuit was begun in 1988. At the December plenum of the Central Committee (1988) it was announced that production in 1988 was expected to be 1.05 million units. In 1989, annual production is to rise to 2 million. With this, the GDR has started industrial mass production with a delay of 6 years. That means, however, that compared to Western producers it can only realize a fraction of the net product. In 1982, a comparable chip still cost \$125, today it can be had for 30 to 50 cents. Hence the GDR earns less than 1 percent of the net product of Japanese innovators, and with almost the same expenditure at that.

Forced Into Reciprocity Business

In September 1988, Erich Honecker was given the prototype of a 1-megabit storage chip from the Zeiss Jena combine. But this remarkable achievement of the Dresden Research Center for Microelectronics hardly reduces the lag in this area. NEC alone, one of Japan's six largest producers, manufactured 2 million 1-megabit chips per month in mid-1988. At year's end it was already 4 million. Industrial production of the 4-megabit storage chip has already begun.

The enormous efforts of the GDR in the production of storage chips have not had any great influence so far on the quality and competitiveness of the products. Good storage chips in many areas are an important, but not [necessarily] sufficient, prerequisite for competitive products. The integration of microelectronics into new products and procedures depends decisively on the willingness of enterprises to assume the risk connected with such innovations. With central directives and special conditions it is quite possible to make progress in individual fields of innovation. But raising the innovation level of industry demands the creation of general conditions for innovative competition between the enterprises. Such an innovative competition is naturally impossible when supply monopolists, called combines, divide up the economy amongst themselves.

The present GDR leadership believes that with the combines it has created a stable backbone of socialist planned economy, and overlooks that with these unrestrained supply monopolists it has only bred industrial dinosaurs—also not unknown in the West—which are a heavy burden on society and would die out under normal market conditions.

The merging of 35,000 enterprises into 224 combines at the beginning of the 1980's, and increasing their self-responsibility has not increased the GDR's flexibility in the intra-German trade as assumed by some observers in the West. On the contrary: For the central bureaucracy this was an easy way to saddle the combines with the difficulties of attaining a balanced trade balance with the West. The combines were forced to link their imports to demands for almost 100 percent reciprocity business.

While up to now such reciprocal transactions were connected primarily to second-ranked imports, with the combines' self-responsibility they are assuming a steadily growing share in foreign trade. Simultaneously, the conditions grow worse for Western firms under which reciprocal deals can be concluded with the combines. Formerly, Western enterprises could choose from a Foreign Trade Ministry list of products comprising all branches of the economy—this list having grown ever shorter in recent years; now the Western exporter is dependent on the limited range of goods of his respective trade partner.

According to estimates by various enterprises, because of the demanded barter deals the GDR loses 20 to 30 percent of potential income, since it has to sell its goods far below the competitive price. Short-term advantages of the bureaucratic plan implementation thus lead to grave long-term disadvantages. Above all, at the expense of society they lessen the pressure on enterprises and combines to produce competitive goods.

The declining competitiveness of GDR products also shows that the technology transfer between the two German states has grown steadily weaker. In the few cases where the GDR bought a license it had great

difficulties in using it, since a large part of the needed components and materials were nonexistent in the GDR. The production of Salamander shoes and Golf motors in the GDR could only be implemented with extraordinary special conditions which required several resolutions of the Politburo. A technology transfer for everyday intra-German trade is not possible in this manner.

The GDR economy on its part possesses a research potential capable of development, particularly in the area of chemical industry, working materials, machine building, and electrical industry. Because of a lack of investments and inadequate development capacities it tries at present to sell licenses to the West at any cost. That is certainly not the most advantageous way to utilize this know-how developed at great expense.

A way more advantageous for both sides would be to utilize such licenses through joint product development. On that basis, various components could at first be produced separately, and the end product could then be finished jointly. This would be the form of joint ventures corresponding to the possibilities of intra-German trade. The required direct cooperation, observance of necessary quality standards, and absolute adherence to deadlines would lead to a qualitatively new stage of German-German cooperation. This also seems a suitable strategy to counteract a further expansion of compensatory business deals.

Garbage instead of Technology

In the area of technology transfer the relations of the two German states are at the conceivably lowest level. They are also far behind the relations with other socialist countries. Even if one ignores the special function of intra-German trade, it is incomprehensible that a trade constituting almost 30 percent of the FRG's trade with the East must rest on far less scientific-technical cooperation than trade with other East bloc countries.

There are far more fellows, students, scientists and apprentices from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the FRG than from the other German state. Similarly, there are no possibilities for industrial managers from the GDR to receive further training in the FRG.

It is significant that, because of the lack of interest of GDR combines in innovations, the FRG—counter to generally held ideas—receives more patents and licenses from the GDR than vice versa. During the 11 years between 1977 and 1987, the FRG in 7 years bought more technology from the GDR than vice versa. Only in 1985 and 1986 did the GDR receive considerably more technology from the FRG. It concerned a temporary increase in production under permit, i.e., the acquisition of technical know-how of a relatively low degree of novelty. But already in 1987 the share of trade with licenses and patents in deliveries and purchases in intra-German

trade dropped to its lowest level in 10 years. Payments for the questionable delivery of garbage from the FRG to the GDR were 14 times higher than the expenditures of the two German states for purchasing technologies in intra-German trade in 1987.

It would be dangerous to become resigned to the present development, or to even systematize it. If the new "division of labor" between the GDR and FRG were to be implemented in such a form that the GDR concentrates on deliveries of a low technological level and the FRG concentrates on high technology, then in the long term a stagnation and even decline of economic relations between the two German states would become reality.

But shrinking the technological gap between the two German states is possible only if the impending improvement in East-West relations is used for injecting vitality into intra-German trade. At present, intra-German trade still bears the stigma of being a leftover from the postwar period. It can only rid itself of this stigma if it integrates itself into the process of system-opening of East and West.

If the system-opening between East and West is to be linked to a growing interdependence of interests of the two German states, then German-German trade would have to play the role of outrider in East-West trade. For that, above all the expansion of direct relations between plants and enterprises is needed. In this manner, new forms of cooperation in areas with a future could be tested and transferred to other socialist countries.

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The problems of the GDR economy are growing, a fundamental reform will become inevitable, at the latest under Erich Honecker's successor. Former GDR economist Harry Maier describes in the last of two DIE ZEIT articles the prospects of such an economic reform.

In order to bring the last optimist in the GDR back to the realm of realism, the SED leadership at the December 1988 meeting of the Central Committee considered it fitting not only to announce the agenda of the 12th Party Congress planned for May 1990, but also its major speakers. They are those of whom one had already hoped at the 11th Party Congress in 1986 that they would put power into younger hands.

It is not difficult to imagine what the speeches by Erich Honecker and Willy Stoph will sound like. After more than 4 decades in the closest leadership circle of the GDR, they will try to portray those very 18 years in which they had the unlimited say-so as a single chain of successes and "far-reaching reforms," in order to prevent a discussion on a fundamental reform of the economy, society and intellectual life.

The present rigid attitude of the GDR leadership is not atypical for a situation in which a change in leadership has become overdue. In contrast to the West, where politicians in such a situation try to gain status by spectacular appearances, their colleagues in socialism keep themselves covered and in principle speak only as a chorus. One must recall the situation in the Soviet Union at the end of the term of office of party chief Chernenko: Who would have thought at that time that of all people, the Politburo member in charge of agriculture, Mikhail Gorbachev, would turn out to be the leader of a radical reform group and would put into question the sacred rituals in the economy, ideology, and foreign policy.

In the GDR, also, there are forces ready to tackle a fundamental restructuring of the economy and society. The new people see that the present leadership is no longer capable of that due to their past, their ideological prejudices, and their age. Hence they are waiting for their early exit. It is not at all the case that the "critical potential" has emigrated from the GDR and it has turned into a country of "little people" who manage to eke out an existence in some nooks and crannies.

The population of the GDR and the majority of SED members recognize the necessity of radical reforms. The claim of the present leadership, that they have initiated "far-reaching reforms" since assuming power in 1971, is considered an embarrassment even by the most faithful party members. Western observers evidently have a difficult time trying to understand the present political scene in the GDR. It is neither the lack of democratic tradition of the Germans, nor the particular performance capability of the GDR economy which made perestroika, glasnost and basic democratic norms impossible here, in contrast to the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland, as Hans-Otto Braeutigam, the former head of the Permanent Representation in the GDR, seems to believe (ZEIT No 3/89).

It is also not a matter of generational conflict, but of the battle of various leadership groups in the socialist countries over the future development of these countries and their place in the international arena. The only difference between the GDR on the one hand and the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland on the other consists in the fact that here, the conservative group still has a firm grip on the reins of power—a notable achievement in view of their average age. But that is by no means a reason to encourage them in their mistakes.

In the coming years we shall be dealing with a new leadership in the GDR. Because of pressure from the population alone, the new leadership will have to show itself much more receptive to the concept of radical economic reform of Soviet party chief Mikhail Gorbachev. In order to increase the innovation level of production and abolish the 'economy of scarcity', it will have to make the economic independence of enterprises, the creation of market relations capable of functioning, and the opening to the world market the decisive points

of its economic policy. In this, the new GDR leadership will have to orient itself by the three cornerstones of Gorbachev's reform concept:

—Economic independence of enterprises and combines and economic competition require the abolition of monopolies as represented at present by the combines in the GDR.

—Abolition of the command economy, which Gorbachev considers the major cause of the economy of scarcity and the performance lag of enterprises. Concentration of activity of the central authority on strategic basic processes of the economy, structural policy, and establishing general conditions for a social policy oriented to the needs of people.

—Building of market relations capable of functioning with a productive mechanism of prices, finance, and credit. This must be linked to a gradual integration into the world economy. Transition to a freely convertible currency is imperative. The Soviet leadership wants to attain this goal in two steps: introduction of a convertible currency in the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) by the early 1990's, and later, full convertibility vis-a-vis world currencies.

But adoption of Gorbachev's radical economic concept by a new leadership would not change the economic situation in the GDR in the short term. A radical economic reform takes some time here, also, despite relatively good conditions. The pressure of expectations of the populace is very high in view of the accumulated problems. A new leadership must try to improve the living conditions of the population in the short term in order to gain their cooperation in the reform.

The GDR will not be able to solve its problems by its own strength. It will need partners with performance capability. The Soviet Union is also wrestling with these problems and is itself in need of help. Deepening cooperation with other socialist countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland does not seem very promising.

For this reason, the new GDR leadership will probably try to better utilize intra-German trade. The only way in which it could tackle its problems relatively quickly would be the expansion of industrial barter deals. This could have quite a positive effect on economic interdependence between the two German states if these barter transactions are linked to expansion of direct relations between enterprises.

To attain this goal, one should stop concentrating industrial barter deals primarily on complete, turnkey installations. Rather, one must secure for the GDR a high share of its own in these installations. Thereby stable

cooperation relations between enterprises could be created; they could be expanded if in the course of economic reform a market capable of functioning were to develop in the GDR.

Probably the new GDR leadership will concentrate on solving the following problems in order to procure a minimum of loyalty among the populace:

- Production of qualitatively better consumer goods
- Overcoming the automobile bottleneck
- Environmental protection
- Expansion of travel opportunities

A new GDR leadership might be interested in transferring already existing forms of direct cooperation, such as the production of Salamander shoes, to other sectors, also. Radios or tape recorders, video recorders, household appliances, household tools, etc. This would also include more extensive production under license, forms of joint use of know-how, and joint ventures in the high tech sector. Modernization of light industry and the food processing industry could also be an especially important field of cooperation.

A Major Vexation: the Automobile

Outmoded production installations, together with a declining export strength of the industry, have extremely aggravated the automobile problem in the GDR. The superannuated 2-cylinder Wartburg and Trabant cars are extremely difficult to sell outside the GDR, and only with great price cuts. On the other hand, the increased indebtedness of the GDR vis-a-vis the Soviet Union has led to the situation where the latter has considerably cut back its deliveries of Lada cars. The transfer of a 4-cylinder production installation from Wolfsburg to Eisenach, and the production of Golf motors in the GDR, will make it possible to gradually reequip Trabant and Wartburg with 4-cylinder Otto engines.

The cooperation agreement of VW with GDR foreign trade provides payment for the production equipment by delivery of 40 percent of the engine production. The plant was to start work on 30 June 1988, but the lack of flexibility and barely adequate quality of the ancillary enterprises has led to a delay.

But even the change-over of GDR cars from the obsolete 2-cylinder engine to a modern VW motor which is now under way will not solve by far the automobile problem in the GDR. Since the beginning of the 1980's, waiting periods in Berlin have risen from 10 years to 15, and outside Berlin from 13 to 18 years. The automobile has become a major vexation in the GDR, particularly among the young.

A new leadership will have to face this problem. The most obvious thing would be to expand cooperation with the FRG automobile industry and to agree on joint reconstruction of the plants in Eisenach (Wartburg) and

Zwickau (Trabant). Probably the GDR will not have the economic strength to import a complete, turnkey plant. But adding on an automotive plant on the basis of FRG technology with high own participation would be quite conceivable.

With the reconstruction of the Eisenach and Zwickau factories, the quality of the cars could be decisively improved and annual production could be raised from 200,000 to 300,000 cars. But this would not be enough to fill unsatisfied demand. That would be possible by delivery of used cars from the FRG. Up to now, the GDR has rejected importing used cars, pointing to the problem of spare parts and insufficient repair facilities. These problems can be solved, however, in cooperation with FRG firms whose cars are admitted for import into the GDR (Genex imports).

In past years the environmental problem in the GDR has become much more pronounced. In the emission of sulphur dioxide and nitric oxides, the GDR is one of the leading air polluters in Europe. An important cause for it is the structure of energy supply. With a proportion of coal of more than 70 percent, the GDR is rather unique among industrial countries. According to the resolution of the 11th Party Congress (1986), mining of brown coal is to be increased by an additional 10 percent by 1990. This will further deteriorate the environmental situation not only for the inhabitants of the GDR, but also for West Berlin and the FRG.

Opening Up Through Internal Change

Damage to the environment and the health of people in the GDR has reached such a dimension that public environmental awareness has developed, which is ever more pronouncedly articulated. The new GDR leadership will, therefore, have to cope with this problem, so far stubbornly ignored, and will have to search for new ways to solve it.

First of all, it is a matter of equipping the brown coal plants already in operation with disposal installations. The GDR has neither the funds nor the necessary technical know-how for sufficient disposal. In this field it would be interested in a direct cooperation with the FRG, whereby in this area especially a joint production of disposal installations could be of great use. It would also enable joint exports to neighboring countries.

Since, for ecological reasons, tight limits are set for even greater utilization of brown coal for the production of electricity, the GDR will strive for expansion of the share of nuclear energy. Because the Soviet Union has great difficulties in satisfying even approximately its own nuclear energy program by the year 2000, the GDR will

attempt to carry out the construction of one or two more nuclear power plants during the 1990's within the framework of intra-German trade.

The GDR might also be interested in a broad transfer of energy-saving technologies. The possibilities at the technical level existing in the GDR seem largely exhausted. Specific energy consumption per 100 Mark of goods production still dropped between 1980 and 1982 by 9 percent, from 1982 to 1984 by 6.6 percent, and from 1984 to 1986 by only 0.5 percent. A greater savings thrust in the GDR can be achieved only with the help of modern technologies. It is not hard to foresee that the GDR leadership will try to use intra-German trade as a source for such technologies.

A problem distressing the GDR population when traveling is the lack of convertibility of their currency. At present, there are two de facto currencies in the GDR: the GDR mark, and the Deutsche mark. This creates a number of social problems which a new leadership will have to try to solve. Especially the travel possibilities for young people have fostered awareness that, because of the nonconvertibility of the GDR currency, GDR visitors in the FRG are degraded to being recipients of alms. The GDR leadership, therefore, in the long run will not be able to maintain its attitude of rejection on the convertibility of the GDR mark.

First indications of a change in attitude became visible in the past months. Although the GDR, jointly with Romania, in 1987 had voted against the introduction of a convertible currency in CEMA, at the Budapest CEMA meeting in July 1988 it agreed to such ideas, albeit without enthusiasm. In order to make the GDR mark at least partially convertible, it will be necessary to offer support to the GDR by the FRG. In this, the model of working with units of account in intra-German trade could play an important role. The creation of at least partial convertibility of the GDR currency would bring about a new development potential for intra-German trade. But that requires a new quality of cooperation between the two German states.

Intra-German trade, as East-West trade under the most favorable conditions, has the best prerequisites to serve a pioneering function in developing qualitatively new forms of economic cooperation between East and West. The two German states must develop their willingness and capability for system-opening through internal change. This will not lead to a convergence of the two different societal systems in Germany; but the existing divergences in the course of system opening—especially with the help of a new quality of intra-German trade—will lose their destructive, distressing and limiting character.

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